

1 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT  
2 EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

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3 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

18 CR 204 (NGG)

4 versus

5 CLARE BRONFMAN,

U. S. COURTHOUSE  
225 Cadman Plaza East  
Brooklyn, New York

6 DEFENDANT.

September 30th, 2020  
6-----X 11:00 a. m.

7 TRANSCRIPT OF CRIMINAL CAUSE FOR SENTENCING  
8 BEFORE THE HONORABLE NICHOLAS GARAUFIS  
9 UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE

10 APPEARANCES

11 Representing the Government:

12 SETH DUCHARME  
13 UNITED STATES ATTORNEY  
14 EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK  
15 271 CADMAN PLAZA EAST  
16 BROOKLYN, NEW YORK 11201  
17 BY: TANYA HIJJAR, ESQ.  
18 MARK LESKO, ESQ.

19 Representing the Defendant:

20 RONALD SULLIVAN, JR., ESQ.  
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22 Washington, DC 20002

23 TUCKER LEVIN, PLLC  
24 230 Park Avenue, Suite 440  
25 New York, New York 10169  
BY: DUNCAN LEVIN, ESQ.

26 ALSO PRESENT: SPECIAL AGENT MICHAEL WENIGER, FBI  
27 ANGELICA DANIZ, USPO

28 Reported by:

29 LISA SCHMID, CCR, RMR  
30 OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER  
31 225 Cadman Plaza East, Room N377  
32 Brooklyn, New York 11201  
33 Proceedings recorded by mechanical stenography. Transcript  
34 produced by Computer-Aided Transcription.

1 THE COURT: Please be seated.

2 COURTROOM DEPUTY: Criminal Cause for Sentencing,  
3 United States versus Bronfman.

4 Counsel, just state your appearances.

5 MS. HAJJAR: Good morning, Your Honor.

6 Tanya Hajjar and Mark Lesko for the Government, and  
7 we're joined by Special Agent Mike Weniger of the Federal  
8 Bureau of Investigation.

9 THE COURT: Yes. Good morning.

10 MR. SULLIVAN: Good morning, Your Honor.

11 Ronald Sullivan and Duncan Levin here on behalf of  
12 Ms. Clare Bronfman, who is present.

13 THE COURT: Good morning.

14 MR. SULLIVAN: Good morning.

15 THE COURT: Good morning, Ms. Bronfman.

16 MR. LEVIN: Good morning, Your Honor.

17 THE COURT: Please be seated.

18 Before we begin with the proceedings, let me say  
19 that we have made every effort, as you can tell, to establish  
20 some protocols and maintain protocols for social distancing,  
21 wearing masks, and attempting to use this particular courtroom  
22 in a way that will minimize any risk to the participants, to  
23 the court staff, to the members of the public, members of the  
24 press. And we have established two overflow courtrooms across  
25 the hall and we are maintaining social distancing in those

1 locations as well and we're also using the cafeteria seating  
2 area and maintaining social distancing there and the use of  
3 masks. So we are doing everything that we can, in view of the  
4 defendant's wish to conduct this sentencing in person, in the  
5 courthouse.

6 And I'd like to thank our staff, in particular, our  
7 district executive and our clerk of court, and the entire  
8 staff for arranging this in a way that would be protective of  
9 everyone's good health and well-being.

10 So, let's proceed with the sentencing.

11 The first step to be taken is for the Court to  
12 identify the sentencing materials, and I'll go over the  
13 sentencing materials.

14 Oh, and at some point, we will take -- we will take  
15 a break at some point along the way at around lunchtime, I  
16 think, for about half an hour and at other times when the  
17 parties believe that we should take a break. In other words,  
18 if you need a break, let me know, because this sentencing is  
19 going to take a good deal of time to complete; and I'm more  
20 than willing to take a break as required.

21 So, counsel, do let me know.

22 The sentencing materials the Court has reviewed for  
23 Ms. Bronfman's sentencing include a Pre-sentence Investigation  
24 Report, dated December 13th, 2019; an addendum to the  
25 Pre-sentence Report, dated March 24th, 2020; defendant's

1 sentencing memorandum and character letters ascribing to the  
2 defendant's good character, which were submitted on  
3 August 28th of 2020; the Government's sentencing memorandum,  
4 dated September 14th, 2020; defendant's replied memorandum,  
5 dated September 22nd, 2020; and a letter from the defense with  
6 attachments of September 28th, 2020.

7 Let me just double-check something.

8 There was a -- the defense filed objections to the  
9 Pre-sentence Report. I'm looking for the probation officer.

10 MS. DANIZ: I'm right here, Your Honor.

11 THE COURT: Oh, good morning. Could you just state  
12 your appearance?

13 MS. DANIZ: Sure. Angelica Daniz from United States  
14 Probation.

15 THE COURT: And when was the -- that was before your  
16 amendment to the Pre-sentence Report, because it responded to  
17 the -- it responded to the defense objections?

18 MS. DANIZ: Correct, Your Honor.

19 MS. HAJJAR: Your Honor, it was dated February 10th,  
20 2020, prior to the addendum.

21 MS. DANIZ: Thank you.

22 THE COURT: All right. So, the Court also took that  
23 into account.

24 So, is there anything else that is part of the  
25 actual sentencing cache of materials?

1 MR. LEVIN: No, Your Honor.

2 MS. HAJJAR: Not from the Government, Your Honor.

3 THE COURT: All right. At this point the Court will  
4 go over the calculation of the offense level and guidelines  
5 range. Before I do, are there other objections to the  
6 Pre-sentence Investigation Report as it was amended by the  
7 Probation Department?

8 I'll hear from the defense about that.

9 MR. SULLIVAN: Thank you, Your Honor.

10 Everything we have outlined in writing already.

11 THE COURT: All right. Thank you.

12 MR. SULLIVAN: Very well.

13 THE COURT: And the Court has considered all of the  
14 objections which have not otherwise been granted, and it  
15 affirms the report as amended.

16 And you have your objection.

17 MR. SULLIVAN: Very well, Your Honor.

18 THE COURT: Thank you. Thank you, sir.

19 Okay. I'm going to go over the calculation of the  
20 Guidelines.

21 The Probation Department recommends that I calculate  
22 the total offense level for Ms. Bronfman as a 17.

23 Ms. Bronfman challenges two aspects of the Probation  
24 Department's suggested calculation. First, she argues that a  
25 three-level increase pursuant to Sentencing Guidelines Section

1 2L1.1(b) (2) (A) is not warranted because the offense of  
2 conviction on Count 1 did not, quote, involve the smuggling,  
3 transporting, or harboring of six or more unlawful aliens, end  
4 quote. Second, she argues that a two-level increase pursuant  
5 to Sentencing Guideline Section 3B1.1(c) is not warranted  
6 because her role in the offense of conviction on Count 1 was  
7 not as, quote, an organizer, leader, manager, or supervisor in  
8 criminal activity, end quote. Ms. Bronfman suggests that the  
9 total correct offense level is a 16.

10 The Government agrees with Ms. Bronfman that the  
11 two-level enhancement for holding a leadership role is not  
12 warranted, but agrees with the Probation Department that a  
13 three-level enhancement for participation in the smuggling of  
14 six similar aliens is appropriate. And so the only issue is  
15 on that second element, which would increase the calculation.

16 Is there anything that has not been stated in your  
17 submissions that the Court should take into account now?  
18 Anything further on that?

19 MR. LEVIN: No, Your Honor. The only objection that  
20 is outstanding is that one three-level enhancement.

21 THE COURT: Okay. All right. Thank you.

22 The Government agrees with Ms. Bronfman that the  
23 two-level enhancement for holding a leadership role is not  
24 warranted, but agrees with the Probation Department that a  
25 three-level enhancement for participation in the smuggling of

1 six or more aliens is appropriate.

2                   And I agree with Ms. Bronfman that the total offense  
3 level is a 16, but for the following reasons: Under Count 1,  
4 Ms. Bronfman pleaded guilty to conspiracy to conceal and  
5 harbor illegal aliens for financial gain. Sentencing  
6 Guidelines 2L1.1(a) (3) provides that the base offense level  
7 for this offense of conviction is 12.

8                   At issue is whether I should apply either or both of  
9 the two possible enhancements to the base offense level, a  
10 three-level enhancement under Sentencing Guideline  
11 2L1.1(b) (2) (A) or a two-level enhancement under Sentencing  
12 Guideline 3B1.1(c).

13                   I decline to apply the three-level enhancement for  
14 smuggling or harboring six or more aliens.

15                   Ms. Bronfman pleaded guilty to the offense of  
16 conviction in Count 1 based on charged conduct concerning Jane  
17 Doe 12. As the Probation Department described in the PSR,  
18 evidence presented at the trial of Ms. Bronfman's  
19 co-defendant, Keith Raniere, suggested that Ms. Bronfman also  
20 participated in conspiracies to conceal and harbor five  
21 additional noncitizens.

22                   While the law is clear that the Court may consider  
23 this evidence in determining a defendant's sentence, see  
24 United States v. Cacace, C-A-C-A-C-E, 796 F 3d, 176, Second  
25 Circuit, 2015.

1                   I decline to consider it for the narrow issue of  
2 determining whether to apply this particular offense level  
3 enhancement under the Guidelines. Because the charged conduct  
4 to which Ms. Bronfman pleaded encompassed only one victim,  
5 Jane Doe 12, I will not apply the enhancement as set forth in  
6 Sentencing Guideline 2L1.1(b) (2) (A). I also declined to apply  
7 the two-level enhancement under 3B1.1(c) on the theory that  
8 Ms. Bronfman acted in a leadership, manager, or a supervisory  
9 role.

10                  Section 3B1.1(c) of the Guidelines indicate that  
11 this enhancement applies when the defendant was, quote, the  
12 organizer, leader, manager, or supervisor of one or more other  
13 participants, end quote, in the offense of conviction.

14                  The commentary to the guidelines specifies:  
15 "Noncitizens who are smuggled, transported, or harbored by the  
16 defendant are, quote, not considered participants, end quote,  
17 for purposes of this enhancement, unless they play an active  
18 role in the smuggling, transporting, or harboring of  
19 additional noncitizens."

20                  I agree with the Government's characterization of  
21 Jane Doe 12 as a victim of the offense of conviction rather  
22 than a co-participant in the offense. Accordingly, I find  
23 that Ms. Bronfman did not have a supervisory role in the  
24 commission of this offense, insofar that she did not manage or  
25 direct the conduct of other participants in the conspiracy to

1 conceal and harbor Jane Doe 12. I, therefore, find that the  
2 adjusted offense level on Count 1 is 12.

3 Moving on to Count 2, under Count 2, Ms. Bronfman  
4 pleaded guilty to fraudulent use of identification. Ms.  
5 Bronfman, the Government, and the Probation Department are all  
6 in agreement regarding the calculation of the offense level on  
7 Count 2; and I agree with your reading of the guidelines.

8 Subject to Sentencing Guidelines 2B1.1(a)(2), the  
9 base offense level for this offense is six. An eight-level  
10 enhancement applies because the loss amount exceeds \$95,000.  
11 An additional two-level enhancement applies because a  
12 substantial part of the fraudulent scheme was committed from  
13 outside the United States. I, therefore, find that the  
14 adjusted offense level for Count 2 is 16.

15 We have two counts of conviction, one with an  
16 adjusted offense level of 12 and the other with an adjusted  
17 offense level of 16. According to Section 3D1.4 of the  
18 guidelines, which addresses multiple counts of conviction, I  
19 must take the highest offense level and increase it by two  
20 levels based on the unit calculations under this provision.

21 The highest adjusted offense level is 16, and a  
22 two-level increase yields a subtotal of 18. Because Ms.  
23 Bronfman pleaded guilty, she is entitled to a two-level  
24 reduction for acceptance of responsibility. A two-level  
25 reduction from 18 leaves us with a total offense level of 16.

1 Having determined the total offense level, I will  
2 now calculate the Guidelines range.

3 Ms. Bronfman's Criminal History Category is 1, and  
4 her total offense level is 16. Using the Guidelines table, I  
5 calculate the applicable guidelines range as 21 to 27 months  
6 in the custody of the Attorney General.

7 Is there any comment?

8 MS. HAJJAR: Not from the Government.

9 Thank you, Your Honor.

10 MR. LEVIN: Not from the defense.

11 Thank you, Your Honor.

12 THE COURT: All right. So just to review the  
13 calculations, in Count 1, the base offense level is a 12; and  
14 adjusted offense level is, therefore, 12. On Count 2, the  
15 base offense level is a six, with eight levels added for the  
16 specific offense characteristic and two levels added for --  
17 because a substantial part of the fraudulent scheme was  
18 committed from outside the United States, for a total adjusted  
19 offense level of 16. And once we use the multiple-count  
20 adjustment, the combined adjusted offense level is an 18, less  
21 two levels for acceptance of responsibility.

22 The Pre-sentence Investigation Report should be  
23 revised to reflect those changes.

24 MS. DANIZ: Yes, Your Honor.

25 THE COURT: Thank you very much.

1                   Okay. The next step in sentencing is to hear from  
2 victims who wish to speak and, while there may be victims here  
3 who are not going to speak in person, there are three victims  
4 who have recorded their victim statements and we will now  
5 hear -- we will hear from them first by video transmission.

6                   Now, with regard, though, to those victims who wish  
7 to speak in person -- we have one of those individuals who's  
8 not yet arrived. We're going to go on and hear from everyone  
9 else.

10                  And you'll let me know when the other victim  
11 arrives, please.

12                  MS. HAJJAR: Yes, Your Honor.

13                  THE COURT: So as to those who wish to speak in  
14 person, I'm limiting you to ten minutes per person.

15 Mr. Reccoppa, my courtroom deputy, has a timer which he will  
16 use. At the end of nine minutes, if the victim is still  
17 speaking, you will hear a sound and at the end of ten minutes,  
18 you will hear two sounds, I think, at which point please just  
19 finish your sentence, and your statement will be completed.  
20 And we have a court reporter who will take everything down.

21                  The first video is of Sarah Edmondson.

22                  MS. EDMONDSON: Hi there. My name is Sarah  
23 Edmondson, and I have known Clare Bronfman for the entire 12  
24 years that I was involved in NXVIM. I'm here today because I  
25 want to reiterate something that's very important.

1                   When I came forward with what had happened to me,  
2 Clare did not call me, as you may expect a friend or a  
3 compatriot in a so-called humanitarian organization might.  
4 Instead, she flew to Vancouver and used her connections and  
5 her resources and her Bronfman name to work with the VPD, the  
6 Vancouver Police Department, to try to get me arrested on  
7 completely trumped-up charges.

8                   This was probably one of the most scary moments of  
9 my entire life. Thank God it was proven very quickly that  
10 this was complete made up. And the \$12,000 it cost me to hire  
11 a criminal defense lawyer to protect myself is one thing, but  
12 the stress and the trauma that that did to me and my entire  
13 family is irreparable.

14                  Never mind on top of that, the lies that she told  
15 the community, people who came to our wedding, that I was a  
16 thief, that I was a criminal, people who still to this day do  
17 not talk to me because they believe those lies.

18                  The thing that concerns me the most is that at this  
19 point, as far as I know, Clare Bronfman does not renounce  
20 Keith Raniere and the fact that she thinks that he is a good  
21 man and is still willing to vouch for him.

22                  I'm always going to be looking over my shoulder, if  
23 that's the case, because as soon as she gets out prison, she  
24 will use her money to continue to attack people, to continue  
25 to use her money as a weapon.

1                   Keith and Clare, neither of these people are  
2 humanitarians. If Clare was truly a humanitarian as she  
3 claimed to be, she would be looking to see how all of these  
4 women, all of the victims, how their stories were true,  
5 instead of trying to attack them and destroy them.

6                   Please keep in mind that if Clare Bronfman had her  
7 way that I would be in prison right now, that I would be in  
8 prison and that my children would not have a mother with them  
9 to raise them. That's what would happen if Clare Bronfman had  
10 her way. Please keep this in mind.

11                   Thank you very much for your time.

12                   THE COURT: All right. The next video presentation  
13 will be Ivy Nevares.

14                   MS. NEVARES: Your Honor, my name is Ivy Nevares.  
15 Thank you for providing this space for me to share this  
16 statement I've prepared for Clare Bronfman's sentencing  
17 hearing.

18                   Clare came to ESP at the height of her privilege,  
19 but sorely lacking as a woman in her early 20s, uneducated,  
20 socially inept, insecure, and practically friendless. When I  
21 met her, she was timid, but she was kind. No one would ever  
22 guess she was an heiress to the ^Seagrams fortune, not by the  
23 way she looked or interacted with others.

24                   Like many of us, Keith Raniere exploited her  
25 vulnerabilities, yet because of her wealth, he took her for a

1 much longer ride, giving her another position, illegitimate  
2 status, and inclusion in a select group she so desperately  
3 craved but hardly deserved. She never earned the power she  
4 was given, not by title, skill, or performance, and in return,  
5 she used her power to abuse others, especially those of us in  
6 Raniere's, quote, inner circle.

7 I would like to address her directly for a few  
8 moments.

9 Clare, after all the evidence, after countless  
10 victims whom you considered amongst your friends, how can you  
11 remain loyal to your Vanguard? No matter how hard you try,  
12 you cannot be principled if the person you follow is a  
13 sociopath and a convicted criminal.

14 Your Honor, when Raniere raised Clare to power in  
15 2009, she began using her position to exploit me through  
16 indentured servitude. As soon as Clare supplanted Nancy  
17 Salzman as NXIVM's de factor decision-maker on the executive  
18 board, Clare lowered my pay, removed what insignificant  
19 privileges the company afforded me, and raised my rent, all  
20 punishments for my supposed ethical breach against Raniere.  
21 In truth, she punished me for disobeying him. Salzman would  
22 later tell me Clare did these things of her own volition.

23 Twice she caused me to go into financial debt,  
24 together with Raniere, Salzman, and Kathy Russell. She  
25 subjected me to forced labor as soon as she was given the

1 chance. She also participated in the myriad of lies told to  
2 me to keep me from defecting.

3 My starting salary with ESP was \$36,000 a year.  
4 This was back in 2002. By the time I stopped working for the  
5 company in early 2017, I never earned more than \$48,000 a  
6 year. I was NXIVM's hardest-working employee, always filling  
7 two or more roles at once and sometimes working up to 20 hours  
8 a day, yet I was provided no benefits, no health insurance, no  
9 401K, no workers' comp, nothing. The only so-called benefit  
10 was a 5-dollar credit per hour worked that could only apply  
11 towards EPS's curriculum. Instead of recognizing Raniere's  
12 and others' abuses against me and righting them, Clare enacted  
13 her own with exceptional cruelty.

14 She had me teach two intensive trainings at her Fiji  
15 resort, where students paid \$20,000 each, yet she didn't pay  
16 me a cent for the work that I performed. I had to pay over  
17 \$5,000 out-of-pocket to even be able to teach the second  
18 training because she refused to take care of my travel and  
19 immigration expenses. This happened after she threatened to  
20 have another person teach the curriculum that had taken me  
21 years to write and develop. It's important to note she  
22 leveraged that entire situation before I was fully recovered  
23 from an emergency shoulder surgery that I, of course, paid for  
24 out-of-pocket.

25 This is how she treated NXIVM's most loyal workers:

1 Demanding, underpaying, or not paying at all. But when it  
2 came time to put down hundreds and hundreds of thousands of  
3 dollars for lawsuits and PR firms, Clare would do so without a  
4 second thought.

5 One of the most cruel and reckless things she ever  
6 did was hire me to care for a woman who I later learned had  
7 suffered a psychotic break during JNESS training that Clare  
8 was attending at the time. She also tasked the now-former  
9 Dr. Brandon Porter to care for her. She, Raniere, and Salzman  
10 were frightened that if that woman was taken to the hospital,  
11 it would implicate the company in wrongdoing, and that was not  
12 the first case.

13 I took 12-hour night shifts for a week, caring for  
14 this woman. I still remember running across a field after she  
15 suddenly took off in the middle of the night. I thrashed  
16 through two feet of snow, screaming into the phone as I asked  
17 Salzman what to do, horrified of the possibility that she  
18 might kill herself and others by running into traffic.

19 Clare risked Porter losing his medical license by  
20 not taking her to a hospital. She risked this woman's life by  
21 not allowing her to be cared for by trained professionals.  
22 She risked my life by putting me in an impossible situation,  
23 knowing I needed the money.

24 While payment for these services is a most trivial  
25 point by comparison, it demonstrates her callousness and

1 punitive nature. She paid me the going rate for babysitting a  
2 child, \$12 an hour. I protested then, citing my measly  
3 17-an-hour wage as a minimum standard, but she refused to pay  
4 the difference because of my so-called ethical breach.

5 Your Honor, Clare could have led the company toward  
6 just rule. She had the power and she had the chance. She  
7 could have done so much good. Instead, she and her sister,  
8 Sara became Raniere's primary enablers. I'm not alone in my  
9 belief that without their money, he could have never harmed as  
10 many people as he did. Clare claims that she did not bankroll  
11 Raniere or his organizations, that she did not know what was  
12 going on behind the scenes, and that she bears no  
13 responsibility in what he did.

14 Again, I would like to address her.

15 Clare, you paid millions of dollars to him. Even if  
16 you never asked what he did with it, you're still responsible  
17 for exponentially amplifying his abuses. You were and are the  
18 propellant to his unyielding fire. Not knowing doesn't  
19 relieve us of responsibility. Remember that? So why do you  
20 refuse to see your part in all of these damages?

21 In addition to exploiting many of us and  
22 facilitating Raniere's trafficking of women, she has crippled  
23 helpless others through vindictive litigiousness. She even  
24 sacrificed her relationship with her beloved father. I ask  
25 Clare: Would he be proud of you, knowing that you are going

1 to prison for following the very monster he was trying to  
2 protect you from?

3 I would like the Court to know I see no indication  
4 that Clare has any remorse about what she's done, not her  
5 guilty plea, not her funding Raniere's defense and cohorts,  
6 not the letter to the Court, nor her recent filings claiming  
7 she has been unjustly targeted because of her wealth. If I  
8 may, again, address her.

9 Clare, you are being held accountable for your  
10 crimes. Sylvie wasn't your only victim. I'm one of them, as  
11 are a number of women whom I spoke with and heard their direct  
12 account of how you exploited them until the government forced  
13 you to stop.

14 The fact that you want to persuade the Court and the  
15 public to think otherwise demonstrates you have no remorse  
16 whatsoever over what you've done, over what you're still  
17 doing, and over what you will continue to do if you keep  
18 supporting and funding Raniere.

19 In our last face-to-face before I left Albany in  
20 2018, I asked Clare point-blank, "Clare, you've spent your  
21 entire life and resources defending Raniere. Are you willing  
22 to spend the rest of your life defending him?" Not a moment  
23 had passed before she turned and said, "Absolutely."

24 When I read her last court filing, where her lawyers  
25 adamantly urged the Court to prohibit other victims from

1 speaking at this hearing, I took it as a statement of a woman  
2 who refuses at all costs to see and hear the extent of the  
3 damage she has done.

4 Your Honor, all of Raniere's organizations preyed  
5 upon well-intentioned people, begging them with promises of  
6 success and mobility. He hasn't stopped. He will not stop.  
7 Clare's money will simply amplify the harm Raniere and she can  
8 do together. For this reason, I not only consider her a  
9 menace to me and her other perceived enemies, but to society  
10 at large.

11 I would like to address Clare one final time.

12 Raniere often said the most sacred and valuable  
13 thing you have in the world is time, because that is the only  
14 thing that can never be replaced. Clare, I hope during the  
15 years you sit in prison, you reflect on this. Your minutes,  
16 hours, and days are only a fraction of what you, Raniere, and  
17 his women stole from me.

18 THE COURT: Okay. Jane Doe 14. Jane Doe 14?

19 JANE DOE 14: I am very grateful to have the  
20 opportunity to be heard. I hope you understand that I would  
21 like to be referred to as Jane Doe, because even though she is  
22 being sentenced, I am still afraid of retaliation by Clare  
23 Bronfman and Keith Raniere.

24 I was recruited into DOS and groomed for Keith  
25 Raniere; and both my experience and what I know now from all

1 the information that has become public, I believe Clare  
2 Bronfman played a role in that.

3           Throughout the ten years that I actively  
4 participated in NXIVM, Clare's influence was a turn-in for me  
5 to believe that I was in an honorable and good place. She  
6 convinced me that the organization was an important  
7 humanitarian management, and I was convinced to believe in and  
8 fully commit to what I now know to have been a lie.

9           Clare invited me personally to Wakaya Island in  
10 Fiji, telling me that it was Keith's desire to have me  
11 participate in a training there, and that it was a big honor  
12 for me to receive such an invitation. She said that it was  
13 unusual for Keith to specifically ask for someone to be there,  
14 which I now know also to be a lie.

15           But this strategy played out over and over again.  
16 She invited me a second time to Wakaya Island, but this time  
17 supposedly as a member of an exclusive private lifetime VIP  
18 Club of friends who shared common visions and values, but that  
19 was way beyond my financial ability because I had already  
20 spent most of my resources in what was supposed to be my  
21 personal growth.

22           Clare also persuaded me to economically sponsor  
23 different projects of Keith, to give video testimony or to  
24 take trainings to attend V-Week, which I did for nine years in  
25 a row. The last V-Week before Keith was arrested, I paid for

1 fully in advance, and when it was clear that things were  
2 falling apart and I would not be attending, Clare firmly  
3 refused to give me a refund. She pretended to be my friend  
4 for a long time, when all along, I was just being manipulated  
5 and groomed for Keith.

6 Clare says she has nothing to do with any of that,  
7 but I don't believe her. Why else would she have put so much  
8 time and effort into persuading me to do things for Keith and  
9 to be in places for Keith? I thought Clare was my friend, and  
10 even though the toughest part by far was my DOS/Keith  
11 experience, it is devastating to find out that all those years  
12 of my life and all my money was spent serving a bogus and  
13 criminal organization.

14 Thank you for giving me this time to speak.

15 THE COURT: All right. Jane Doe, in person. Jane  
16 Doe 12?

17 JANE DOE 12: I came to work in EXO/ESO because I  
18 believed in the mission.

19 THE COURT: And just speak slowly, please.

20 JANE DOE 12: Yes. I came to work in EXO/ESO  
21 because I believed in the mission. I thought I was hired for  
22 my special skills, but, sadly, I found out that I was one of  
23 many who will be misled.

24 I was hired to work as a management consultant for  
25 EXO/ESO, LLC, in October, 2015. I got my TN visa and my

1 contract signed by Ms. Clare Bronfman, which stated that I  
2 would be compensated as an independent contractor at the rate  
3 of \$3,600 a month. During my time in EXO/ESO, I never  
4 received my salary because my visa was seen as a privilege,  
5 and I needed to earn that privilege by some unknown internal  
6 metric that was not stated in our work agreement. My  
7 expectation to receive my payment was portrayed as "entitled."  
8 I never understood how my visa needed to be earned if I  
9 already had it when I was hired to perform the job that I was  
10 doing. So I was encouraged to find different jobs with the  
11 people in this commune so I could pay for my basic expenses  
12 like housing, transportation, and food, et cetera.

13 It was a different dynamic than the one I was used  
14 to, where you provide the service and you get paid for it.  
15 The argument was that NXIVM bills companies in a different  
16 way, an ethical way. I believed it, and I continue to agree  
17 under that scheme. It was burdensome to achieve goals because  
18 every proposal, idea, or initially was tied to a personal  
19 growth plan. So reaching the work objectives could delay and  
20 never became the priority, which is one reason -- which is one  
21 reason why the company needed didn't move forward nor succeed.

22 It was the personal issues that got in the way. So  
23 it became more important to fix the personal issues than to  
24 move the company forward as a business. The destruction of  
25 personal issues didn't allow us to focus a hundred percent on

1 the developing the company. And because there were no  
2 salesmen in EXO/ESO, there was no money to get paid. So I was  
3 told that why should I feel entitled to receive my payment if  
4 the company wasn't succeeding. This was a fast look that they  
5 kept making.

6 No matter how much we were pushed, it was never  
7 enough. Instead, we wound up overworked, burned out, with low  
8 self-esteem and no income.

9 Ms. Bronfman also mentioned that Keith wanted to  
10 work with me in the right to enrollment for EXO/ESO. He was  
11 the creator of all the companies, the smartest man in the  
12 world, and many more amazing titles and, of course, naturally,  
13 I wanted to learn from the best, but that never happened.  
14 When you get hired as an immigrant to work in a company with  
15 which your visa is contingent on and it is your only way to  
16 make money by law, how was I supposed to survive safely  
17 without making any money?

18 I have many, many questions that I will ask, but the  
19 one that I can't get out of my head is: Why did you lie to  
20 me? If you were not planning to pay my salary or if I was not  
21 the person who you wanted to hire, why did you lie? I  
22 believed you. I believed in the company, and its mission. I  
23 had no idea what was going on behind the curtains. Knowing  
24 that you didn't have any intention to uphold my contract broke  
25 my heart. Mostly, it was a low blow.

1                   In ESP, we have our mission statement by saying we  
2 will help to make the world a better place to live. I still  
3 cannot understand this incongruency.

4                   I can spell. I know my accent is difficult.

5                   I want to mention that in December, 2017, Ms.  
6 Bronfman released a statement, a public statement,  
7 characterizing DOS as a sorority, stating that it has truly  
8 benefited the lives of its members and those so frail. I find  
9 no fault in a group of women or men for that matter, freely  
10 taking of all loyalty and friendship, with no other to feel  
11 safe, while pushing back against their fears that have stifled  
12 their personal and professional growth.

13                  Clare, I must say from personal experience that I  
14 was part of that group; and not in anyway was my life  
15 benefited from it, nor did I feel free.

16                  The naked posts, the horrible tasks, and pressure to  
17 count calories were all overwhelming. I didn't feel like a  
18 friendship; and instead of pushing against my fears, it was  
19 exactly the opposite. When I was told by my master that I  
20 needed to tell Keith Raniere about my sexual encounters with  
21 my boyfriend, now my husband, the last thing that I felt was  
22 safety or personal growth. I grew not because but in spite of  
23 that man's emotional and financial abuse.

24                  Lastly, I take responsibility for not seeing the red  
25 flags sooner. It cost me in many areas including money,

1 emotionally, my self-esteem, and time. However, that doesn't  
2 excuse them from the abuse and manipulation and injustice.

3 I hope this case empowers people to learn to say no  
4 when they don't feel like something is correct. I hope I can  
5 learn from these that if it doesn't feel right, saying no  
6 doesn't make me less and I don't have to betray my values to  
7 accommodate others if I don't feel it's right and I hope  
8 people can see it sooner, so they can stop abuse.

9 Thank you for your time.

10 THE COURT: Thank you.

11 (Continued on the next page.)

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1 (Continuing.)

2 THE COURT: Toni Natalie.

3 MS. NATALIE: Good morning, your Honor.

4 If not for a chosen few, the money, the power  
5 inherent in the Bronfman name, this criminal enterprise would  
6 never have existed. Clare Bronfman was a pivotal part of  
7 trying to destroy my life. If not for her, I would not be  
8 standing in this courtroom today.

9 I'd like to introduce myself to Clare as we never  
10 formally met. Clare, my name is Toni Natalie, otherwise known  
11 within Nxivm as a suppressive, someone that needed to be  
12 destroyed, as testified to in this very courthouse.

13 I was not part of Nxivm. I'm not involved in any  
14 capacity with you and any of your businesses, yet I and my  
15 family felt the weight of your power for almost two decades.

16 As I stand here I say I never met Clare. And the  
17 last time I spoke to Keith Raniere, her Vanguard, is when I  
18 fled Albany in 1999 with Nancy Salzman by his side the last  
19 words set to me were: The next time I see you, you'll be dead  
20 or in jail.

21 He was half right, only he was the one in jail.

22 The relentless litigation did not end until multiple  
23 arrests. And would have not never been possible without the  
24 funding Clare has admittedly provided.

25 In the fall of 2014 I lost both my paren. My Mom

1 died on October 17. She was the strongest person I've ever  
2 known, losing two children in her lifetime, dying from  
3 pancreatic cancer, fearing are we going to jail on false  
4 charges or being sued for millions, both brought and funded by  
5 Clare Bronfman.

6 Before she passed she looked at me and said: Toni,  
7 you're not crazy, don't make them think you are. I'll always  
8 be with you.

9 My Dad died 21 days after losing my Mom. Our  
10 conversation was about Keith, the cult, the power, the  
11 Bronfman money, the relentless pursuit of me. And how with  
12 their unlimited funds would we ever stop them.

13 Even the end of their lives they were still being  
14 controlled by this cult, supported by Clare Bronfman.

15 On February 27, 2015, I was indicted on four false  
16 felony counts of computer trespassing. And I was alone. The  
17 insurance money from their death was the only way I could  
18 afford to hire a former federal prosecutor, William Dreyer,  
19 for a second time. Bill could not be bought off, bribed off,  
20 or scared off but that didn't stop them. They had a lot of  
21 money to prove their ethics.

22 I'm trying to keep myself together as I write this,  
23 as it seems like for the hundredth time, but you never see it  
24 coming. Every time you think it's over, there it is, that  
25 crack in the plate. You're triggered. They are back again

1 with a different name or different spin, but with the same  
2 goal, destruction in the name of humanity. Same play book,  
3 different players, as seen in the latest move, make justice  
4 blind. Like a Freudian slip, make justice blind, something  
5 you've attempted to do with your relentless litigation against  
6 anyone who spoke out against your organization or your  
7 Vanguard.

8                   My litigation started in 1999 with an  
9 eight-and-a-half year battle in bankruptcy court. The judge  
10 granting my discharge in 2003 wrote: This matter smacks of  
11 jilted fellow's attempt at revenge retaliation from his former  
12 girlfriend with many attempts of tripping her up along with  
13 the way.

14                   Influenced and financed by Clare, the litigation  
15 continued until 2008. Appeals going all the way up to the  
16 U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second District.

17                   In 2003 I spoke to Forbes and your father, Edgar  
18 Bronfman, Sr., desperate to expose the dangers of this cult.  
19 Get your girls out, I told him.

20                   Clare knowingly used terror by litigation to try to  
21 silence Nxivm's perceived enemy. My name was also in the box  
22 found in Nancy Salzman basement.

23                   In 2005 a knock on the door by the FBI. A dossier  
24 created by Nxivm made its way into the FBI's office. With the  
25 help of my parents, we hired a local Albany attorney. In 2006

1 an invoice from 2005, a retainer for 10,000-plus to conduct a  
2 discreet confidential investigation on me and my family, Juval  
3 Aviv, former officer in the Mossad, Israeli's equivalent to  
4 the CIA, the same organization hired to go after cult expert  
5 Rick Ross.

6 In 2007 a 20-page dossier was sent to a reporter by  
7 Nxivm. 260 counts of my criminal violation. He had never  
8 seen anything like that before, and suggested I sue for  
9 defamation. I thanked him. And once again prayed you would  
10 go away, knowing I could never win against Nxivm's high-paid  
11 hired guns that were trying to, quote, control the legal  
12 system and now the media.

13 In 2007 a letter from an Albany attorney saying take  
14 a big breath they want to move forward with the charges. A  
15 trial will cost \$150,000-plus. And you should take a plea  
16 deal, possibly a short stint in a federal prison, or at best  
17 home confinement and a fine but I'd be able to work.

18 Hadn't I put my parents through enough? They lost  
19 their home in Saratoga and so much more. With my Mom's  
20 support, we declined. And as a suggestion we hired Bill  
21 Dreyer. In my meeting with Bill he said to me, you don't look  
22 like Genghis Kahn. Not even the math adds up, and this has  
23 political written all over it, who did you piss off.

24 Bill understood the underlining influence within the  
25 organization. It had been made public that Nxivm hired Roger

1 Stone to assist them. I followed his guidance, held my  
2 breath, and waited for my time to be up at least this time.

3 In 2007 it was stated on camera that Nxivm had  
4 scorched earth police pursuing their enemies. I wasn't just  
5 scorched; I was incinerated.

6 In 2010 someone claiming to an FBI agent showed up  
7 at my work. A group of nine women left Nxivm and they were  
8 desperate to scare and silence everyone.

9 Notwithstanding was the legal pursuit of my mother,  
10 going as far as buying a creditors position in her bankruptcy.

11 And my brother, a brother who I lost on March 12,  
12 2009, to an apparent suicide, according to the autopsy. My  
13 brother was in communications with Keith, as explained to me  
14 in heart-wrenching detail. John was desperate to stop the  
15 ongoing litigation that was destroying our family, pulling us  
16 apart. I don't believe my brother woke up that day and  
17 decided to take his own life. I believe people who died, deal  
18 with this type of relentless pursuit do things to ease the  
19 pain, you drink, you take drugs, you over medicate, you stop  
20 caring for yourself as you should. Nxivm teaches in one of  
21 their modules that suicide is honorable if you're not bringing  
22 value to your family.

23 Clare claims she never participated with illegal  
24 activities. This is not true. What is true was she never  
25 charged with any of her illegal activities until now. And

1 why, the question better answered by the district that let  
2 this cult run rampant for decades.

3 In 2012 I was invited to Mexico by a reporter, a  
4 free trip, to discuss his story. I declined.

5 In October of 2013 my home was raided, searched for  
6 anything Nxivm or Keith Raniere related. The police I had  
7 been giving information to about illegal activities, including  
8 under age girls and the girls from Mexico, were now at my home  
9 for a warrant for me. This was followed by civil suit for  
10 millions.

11 September 2015, a civil case, the civil case was  
12 thrown out. Judge Kahn's ruling stated: Ms. Bronfman, a  
13 member of Nxivm's executive board, acknowledged during an  
14 unrelated bankruptcy more than two years before the lawsuit  
15 was filed, that she suspected intrusions of her computer  
16 system. The judge noted with some troubling facts, but  
17 ultimately declined to impose Rule 11 sanctions. That,  
18 however, was purely an issue of law. And did not alter the  
19 fact that Clare had lied in order to continue her litigation;  
20 nor did it stop her from pursuing bogus criminal charges.

21 In 2015, a patent, I was unaware I owned, until a  
22 lawsuit filed by Mr. Raniere and funded as stated by  
23 Ms. Bronfman against AT&T and Microsoft for patent  
24 infringement in excess of \$20 million. The Court ruled I was  
25 the only one that could bring the claim, yet in the midst of

1 the criminal litigation I barely had taken a breath before I  
2 was served by AT&T, Microsoft and Keith Raniere in the state  
3 of Washington, with little time to respond and clearly not the  
4 resources needed to defend the actions.

5 In February of 2016, broken and exhausted I reached  
6 an ACOD. They say an ACOD returns you to your prior life. If  
7 that be true, I'd like my life back. I miss my child, my  
8 parents, my home, my reputation, my work, my life, and what it  
9 should have been.

10 The most difficult thing in my life was losing my  
11 Mom. The second, were the seven weeks of this trial. It was  
12 like watching a parallel universe run through my mind, as  
13 timelines collided with so many witnesses.

14 In 2004 I was diagnosed with PTSD and fibromyalgia,  
15 then filed by CPTSD, Complex Post Traumatic Stress.

16 I live alone with my dog since 2010. The pressure  
17 destroyed my marriage. My life is difficult to explain to  
18 anyone, and I feel safer for people to keep a distance. I  
19 jump each time the door rings. I live where I can all around  
20 me. I don't allow my dog to go outside unless I watch her; my  
21 last dog was poisoned. I look over my shoulder always.

22 My son lives with his dad in a different state.  
23 Each time I felt it was safe to bring my child back into my  
24 world, it would implode again. My world was never safe place  
25 to raise a child. He's a grown man now. I missed most of his

1 childhood fighting legal battle after legal battle. Working  
2 to stay alive, funded by you.

3 I believe it's just a matter of time before it  
4 starts all over again; if it hasn't already. And I don't know  
5 how much more fight I have left in me.

6 I'm sorry, your Honor, this is so long and  
7 disjointed.

8 Clare's response to the Court suggested to me that  
9 she has absolutely no remorse. I feel it's only appropriate  
10 that she now stand before this Court to be sentenced to  
11 prison. And there is no amount of time that will give me back  
12 my family or the many years of my life I fought these monsters  
13 off to stay alive. I hope everyone day she's behind bars,  
14 Clare reflects on the evil and damage she inflicted on so many  
15 others. And brings back to the world something other than the  
16 destructive force she has brought so far.

17 In closing, I ask for one more thing, as a favor to  
18 a family, truth for Kristen Snyder, someone knows something.

19 I'm grateful for the Court for their time and  
20 consideration. Thank you.

21 THE COURT: Thank you. Sally Brink.

22 MS. BRINK: Thank you for the opportunity and the  
23 time to speak. I didn't plan on reading today, but this is a  
24 quite intense venue to say the least.

25 In February 2016 I decided to leave ESP after 13

1 years of involvement, ranging from very little, to my life was  
2 completely encapsulated in ESP. It was a feeling that  
3 something was deeply wrong, but I couldn't figure out what it  
4 was, I couldn't pinpoint it. I just knew I needed to leave  
5 and I was scared. So scared I didn't tell anyone, not even my  
6 partner, my husband who I had been with since 1995.

7 While I was transitioning out of the companies, I  
8 was in many, many roles. I was diagnosed in January of 2017  
9 with Stage Two breast cancer. That night I was in the shower,  
10 so my son couldn't hear my sobbing. Why am I so sick? How  
11 did this happen? I'm only 45 years old with no history of  
12 breast cancer in my family.

13 I started looking at my thoughts about myself and it  
14 was like I was in a movie screen and everything was negative  
15 and self-deprecating. I started to think do I really think  
16 these things about myself? Do I really believe this? And I  
17 realized I didn't.

18 It was all feedback from ESP. All the things that  
19 they said to me about my self-esteem, I didn't earn anything,  
20 and I had no right to anything, I felt entitled, I was a  
21 princess.

22 A lot of this came from Clare. We were very close  
23 at certain points. I lived on her farm as a property manager  
24 with my husband. And I worked in many roles and she was my  
25 supervisor in many of the roles. And I thought we were

1 friends.

2                   In that moment I knew when I was in the shower that  
3 I needed to rid myself of all the negatives associations with  
4 ESP or that I would die. Between the stress of the  
5 indoctrination, my body being in a constant state of fight or  
6 flight or freeze. My body broke down like many before me who  
7 died of cancer in ESP.

8                   Within weeks the cancer took over my body and I was  
9 told I was going to die. I had gone from Stage Two to Stage  
10 Three or Four within five weeks. They didn't know if it was  
11 Three or Four, they said it didn't matter. They were going to  
12 create me the same way.

13                   Ninety days later I was cancer free. That's when  
14 DOS was exposed.

15                   A few days after DOS was exposed I was sitting in  
16 the FBI Albany telling them what I knew, asking for help. I  
17 didn't even know what I was asking help from. It was like  
18 this monster that had no face, no name.

19                   I had a panic attack in July 2018 after Clare was  
20 arrested. I again was told I was going to die. But here I  
21 am.

22                   I'm here today as part of my healing journey and  
23 because I thought that I needed to look at Clare. I needed to  
24 be here because I think it's only fair to you that I say these  
25 things to you. And I would like to address Clare now.

1                   I was reading some of my old e-mails between us.  
2                   And one of e-mails I wrote -- excuse me -- that I loved you.  
3                   And I was grateful for you. And yesterday when I read about  
4                   your illness, I felt very sad for you, and scared. Wondering  
5                   what it would be like managing your fear in this moment, what  
6                   you're going through. I know this, in part, because of how  
7                   sick I've been over the years. But I'm wondering if you can  
8                   imagine what it was like for me to be told that I was going  
9                   die. The pain about thinking about leaving my son motherless,  
10                   and not having the resources to chose the best doctors.

11                   I was completely broke. When I joined ESP and I  
12                   moved to Albany, I had a fantastic resume, I had six figure  
13                   line of credit, I had a lot of money in the bank, I had health  
14                   insurance. And I left with none of that.

15                   And here I am involved in this community that I  
16                   really believed in and now some of the higher ranks were  
17                   telling people not to help me. This community, a lot of the  
18                   higher ranks they turned their back on me. I was shunned for  
19                   being sick.

20                   The deep emotional pain that you and many others  
21                   were not my friend and did not love or care about me still  
22                   resonates with me today.

23                   When I resigned from coaching in September 2016 we  
24                   had our last walk. You didn't speak to me again until you  
25                   called me in April 2017 to tell me I was going beat cancer.

1 And I was beating cancer. I was on the hardest chemotherapy  
2 that they can give to breast cancer patients.

3 I now know that your friendship and your love was  
4 completely dependent on my involvement in ESP. Have you ever  
5 thought about your impact in my life? How you directly  
6 participated in the destruction of all aspects of my life. I  
7 can tell you that you're not going to heal with KR in your  
8 life. You have to take back your power. This is, of course,  
9 if you're not his evil understudy but a victim. And I do  
10 believe you're a good person.

11 I'm sad that your choices and mine have brought us  
12 to this space. If you had put down your pride and were open  
13 to feedback from others besides KR, and I hadn't abnegated my  
14 personal power to you and ESP, perhaps none of this would ever  
15 have happened.

16 My pain is, where were you ever my friend? I am  
17 holding that space. As long as you support KR there is no  
18 forgiveness for you. The damage and the destruction that you  
19 caused in my life can only be healed if you can disavow him  
20 and see him for what he is.

21 After reading your letters I believe that this is  
22 all because of KR. There is no Clare. It is crystal clear  
23 that you have no sense of self without him. You do all his  
24 bidding, and that's what makes you dangerous.

25 If you go to jail, my hope is that you can finally

1 experience yourself without any expectations from the outside  
2 world. When you leave jail you can finally do the good you  
3 wanted to do in the world. You've caused so much destruction  
4 in so many lives but you'll have the opportunity to heal the  
5 damage that you caused. The choice is yours. It is light  
6 over darkness, and I hope one day you see the light.

7 Thank you so much for your time.

8 THE COURT: Thank you. Susan Dones.

9 MS. DONES: Thank you, Judge, for letting me speak.

10 Ms. Bronfman, I read your letters to the Judge where  
11 you explained how you were ashamed of your wealth, you wanted  
12 to be accepted by others. How Nxivm gave you a sense of  
13 belonging and you overcame your patterns of self-loathing,  
14 insecurities and fears. A place where you felt most  
15 passionate about and fulfilled by and deeply cared about. Did  
16 you ever consider that they just wanted your money? And what  
17 would happen if you just stopped giving your money. Would you  
18 be that important to them? Especially to Keith Raniere. You  
19 might want to try that and find out where you lie with his  
20 love and affection.

21 You talked about the last two years have been  
22 immensely painful and how many people's lives have been up  
23 heaved. A community where many thrived, felt purposeful and  
24 really enjoyed their lives, and then everything fell apart.  
25 How this is caused tremendous pain for them in their families.

1                   You stated in the last two years you spent time  
2 reflecting how all of this happened. Where you participated  
3 and why. How you tried to understand your bad choices and  
4 overcome the struggles driving you to chose them.

5                   Then you mentioned you read the victim's statements.  
6 How you became aware of many of your, but you never mentioned  
7 any of those blindspots; so it's interesting, they remain  
8 blind to us. Reading these letters you said that some of them  
9 you still care deeply about; but what about the other victims.  
10 You say it has been immensely painful, helpful for you to  
11 understand your actions and that you perceived how people  
12 experience you and felt effected by you and how -- but you  
13 never explained how.

14                   In my opinion, these are just empty words and they  
15 mean nothing to me as your victim and I wonder about the other  
16 victims. So why should any of us care how our letters  
17 impacted your awareness. In my opinion you're just being  
18 selfish. If you really cared, you would find ways to heal the  
19 wounds that you have caused with every one of your victims and  
20 you wouldn't leave it up to the courts to decide how to heal  
21 those wounds.

22                   Ms. Bronfman, it's your soul, it's your karma. And  
23 if you want, to use a Nxivm term, you would heal your ethical  
24 breach with each one of us. If you leave them unhealed,  
25 you'll eventually have to heal them with your maker.

1                   As a result, you say you believe you stand here as a  
2 better person, a person with a deeper understanding of  
3 humanity, the difference between people and the gravity of how  
4 it effects you. I say, well, bravo to you, Ms. Bronfman.  
5 Good for you. You stand here as a better person with a deeper  
6 understanding of yourself; again, this is all about you.  
7 Again, what a selfish thing to say.

8                   In my opinion, you're a predator. Let that sink in.  
9 These past two years haven't been a life skill class. You  
10 broke the law. And breaking the law has legal ramifications.

11                  If its true that you did a deep dive into your  
12 behavior the last couple of years, you should feel shame,  
13 self-loathing, insecure, and fearful of your actions that  
14 you've done and the behaviors that the end of the sentencing  
15 hearing -- that the hearing of today. And not just try to  
16 sell yourself to the judge of what a better person you are and  
17 what might happen in the sentencing.

18                  Have you ever considered the pain that you have  
19 caused us when you went after us legally for your master,  
20 Keith Raniere? How you up-ended our lives and how our lives  
21 fell apart when you went after us. The pain that you've  
22 caused us and our families. Or did you leave that out of  
23 yourself reflection these last couple of years?

24                  You should understand there are lives that you've  
25 destroyed using your wealth by allowing Keith Raniere and

1 Nancy Salzman and yourself, by doing nothing but -- by doing  
2 nothing but by allowing us to tell the truth of what has  
3 unraveled in Nxivm. If you would have allowed that truth to  
4 come to the surface, DOS might have never happened.

5 You willingly opened your checkbook and spent  
6 millions of dollars to destroy me and others all without  
7 giving a thought of what we were saying was true. To this day  
8 I don't think you considered that, what we were saying might  
9 have been true. I don't think you sought any information  
10 outside of what Keith Raniere and Nancy Salzman told you what  
11 was true. There was plenty of information out there. I don't  
12 even know if in the last two years you've even gone outside to  
13 look outside to see if what we were saying was true.

14 So I read all the kind words that people have  
15 written about you, but those are people who never stood up to  
16 the criminal enterprise that was running behind the training.  
17 Well, that wasn't me. I was one of the people who stood up  
18 and told the truth about the criminal enterprise. How did I  
19 know the truth? Nancy Salzman spilled the beans to me one  
20 night. She told me all the illegal activities that Nxivm was  
21 up to. I was horrified. She said: What are you going to  
22 about it? I said: It's my word against yours. And shortly  
23 after that I left.

24 So it was you, Clare Bronfman, that claim after me  
25 with orders of the man, Keith Raniere, to this day that you

1 refuse to denounce and you refuse to denounce what you called  
2 the organization of Nxivm that doesn't even exist, the owns  
3 that organization. And so what you call the humanity of Nxivm  
4 is just lipstick on a pig. There is no humanity of Nxivm, not  
5 when you look outside in the destruction that's happened.

6 So I remember after myself and eight other people  
7 left you, and the other leaders made it impossible for us to  
8 have a relationship with our friends in Nxivm. If you  
9 remember, Ms. Bronfman, it was called shunning.

10 So when I resigned I asked for my commissions owned  
11 in the value of the business that I built in the Pacific  
12 Northwest that Nxivm continued to profit off of for decades  
13 until Nxivm was shut down by the DOJ. I was called an  
14 extortionist for this.

15 I received a letter while still in Albany, New York.  
16 I had to hire an attorney in Albany. I had to call my sister  
17 that let her know I might need some bail money. I asked her  
18 not to tell me mother because she was sick, I didn't want her  
19 to worry about me. After meeting with the attorney, and in  
20 Albany I found out that asking for money that I believed was  
21 owed to me is not extortion and no charges were ever filed  
22 with me. But to this day there are many people left in the  
23 inner circle of Nxivm that believe I was an extortionist.

24 But this is not what you told the Nxivm people or  
25 the judge in my case. So when you filed charges against me,

1 when you sued me, you told the judge I was an extortionist.  
2 After I closed my center I was warned by people that you would  
3 punish me by speaking out, by suing me. If it wasn't bad  
4 enough that I had to file bankruptcy due to the center, you  
5 guys sued me. You entered into my bankruptcy as adversaries  
6 and claimed over 230 claims against me, knowing that I  
7 couldn't afford an attorney, which was the worst.

8 Ms. Bronfman, you paid for seven attorneys to come  
9 after me at the cost of over \$500,000 to sue me, when I asked  
10 for less than half of that. Nxivm knew full well that I was  
11 going to open a center in Vancouver BC, that I had been  
12 working on for almost a decade to build, and they would profit  
13 off of those efforts of my labor for years to come.

14 You also testified at my trial, telling one lie  
15 after another because you had no evidence against me, only  
16 that I showed a portion of a video that I owned.

17 So I'm going to -- I'm running out of time -- I'm  
18 going to get to the end of this.

19 To this day I suffer from PTSD, anxiety. I'll never  
20 recover the loss of my investment into Nxivm, or the two years  
21 that I couldn't work because I had to learn how to defend  
22 myself, and the loss of the building that we bought to built  
23 the center.

24 Through the 11 years of my therapy I've learned  
25 anger is my poison, so I'm not angry at you, Ms. Bronfman. I

1 pray for you every day. I pray that you will take the claws  
2 of Keith Raniere out of you and you will learn who Clare  
3 Bronfman really is, because he's killing you. And I hope you  
4 find out who you really are. But I hope the judge will  
5 sentence you to prison time so you can find out that you never  
6 ever want to go back to prison; and if you stay with him, you  
7 will end up committing more crimes. Thank you.

8 THE COURT: We're up to Kristin Keeffe. Do you want  
9 to wait until we hear from someone else so you can get  
10 settled?

11 MS. KEEFE: Yes, your Honor.

12 THE COURT: Okay, please be seated.

13 Barbara Bouchey.

14 MS. BOUCHEY: Thank you. Is it okay if I move this?

15 THE COURT: You can move it, just don't remove the  
16 little cover.

17 MS. BOUCHEY: That's better. Thank you.

18 Hi, Clare.

19 Unlike Clare, I was not born into a life of  
20 privilege, power, wealth and prominence. Nor having the  
21 liberty to not finish high school or not go to college,  
22 because I inherited a fortune. Rather I grew up in low-income  
23 housing project. We were poor. My Mom died when I was eight.  
24 My father was a severe alcoholic. And I have two special  
25 needs brothers that he then put into institutions and forbid

1 me to see. But being a very determined young woman, I  
2 disobeyed him and two years later, at age of 11, we called a  
3 truce and negotiated with my father that I want to still see  
4 my two brothers he abandoned. And my father agreed as long as  
5 I never mentioned their names in this life again, which I  
6 vowed to do.

7 College was never mentioned in our household, nor  
8 even a dream. It wasn't spoke in the house. My only  
9 aspiration was to be a secretary, and a really good secretary.

10 It wasn't until somewhere in my early 20s that I  
11 stopped one day and thought, I can be more than this, I can be  
12 more than a secretary. And that's when I started to waiting  
13 tables 40 hours a week and I put myself through college.

14 At the age of 24 I began my career in the financial  
15 planning industry. And through hard work I built a reputation  
16 of being honest, responsible, ethical and integrous. And by  
17 the age of 40 I had become a self-made millionaire, generated  
18 1 million a year in annual renewable fees, had a net worth of  
19 \$5 million, was a leader respected by my peers and a pillar of  
20 my community. And yet, still only owned one pair of black  
21 shoes and blue shoes and wore Ann Taylor suits. Because  
22 instead of spending my money on things that were frivolous, I  
23 gave it instead to help others and I prudently saved my money.

24 Here is a snapshot of my life, Clare, that you may  
25 not be aware of. Within the 12 months before entering Nxivm,

1 I was featured as a keynote speaker for the Women's Leadership  
2 Forum. I co-chaired an event with Marylou Whitney Vanderbilt.  
3 I was quoted in the newspapers constantly about the market.  
4 My annual --

5 THE COURT: Excuse me, please slow down a little. I  
6 want to absorb your words.

7 MS. BOUCHEY: I'm just nervous.

8 THE COURT: Take a deep breath and slow down.

9 MS. BOUCHEY: My annual client parties, my Christmas  
10 party, and believe it or not the opening day of the Saratoga  
11 race track party was the biggest event at my office.

12 All this from a girl that I call came up from white  
13 trailer trash, the wrong side of the track. And there I was,  
14 40 years old, having achieved what they would call the  
15 American Dream and I beat all the odds.

16 Here is a snapshot of my life now, after leaving  
17 Nxivm.

18 I have been smeared by Keith Raniere who very  
19 carefully two years before I quit and after the behind scenes  
20 smear campaign because I broke off my intimate relationship  
21 with him, and then lied to you and everybody else that I had  
22 some big ethical breach. And then when I left, he then  
23 falsely told you and other people that \$1.7 million of my life  
24 savings that he actually owed me and Nancy, and vowed to pay  
25 my every year, and every year they made an excuse. And then

1       guilted me and shamed me, and said you're just so selfish, you  
2       must have an attachment to money, how much money do you need  
3       to make, you're still making a million a year.

4               They wouldn't pay me back. Because I needed to  
5       sacrifice for you and the community. And I didn't have  
6       millions; but what I had I gave.

7               And then I had to suffer being trying to be arrested  
8       for extortion.

9               You say that you never lied or that you've never  
10       wrongly accused anybody, when this is the letter that proved  
11       the first lie that you told. You went through my hometown  
12       district attorney and told them that you fired me as your  
13       adviser for ethical violations. And that I then tried to  
14       extort \$2 million from you in revenge and retaliation, saying  
15       that you're on the executive board and you got my letter that  
16       only went to Keith and Nancy asking them to pay me back my  
17       \$1.7 million that they rightfully owed me.

18               And here is the proof. This is an Nxivm  
19       communication dated May 10, two weeks after I left, where you  
20       were appointed to the board and strategically did so that you  
21       can go then go to Saratoga DA and tell them that you were on  
22       the board and you got this letter. But you never got that  
23       letter.

24               And this letter launched a thousand court filings.  
25       From this letter you then sued me three times in two different

1 states. You launched year-long investigation on my financial  
2 planning board accused me of twenty-nine salacious lies,  
3 including that I was a commodities broker for an account you  
4 never had, and lent money to Keith. And I never traded  
5 accommodate in my entire lifetime.

6 And so my life after this is I have been headline  
7 news. I've been dragged into 14 lawsuits that lasted eight  
8 years, in front of eight judges, in four states. My illegal  
9 fees have been \$700,000.

10 Because I'm a local town girl, prominent business  
11 woman in Albany where the local headquarters was, I endured  
12 hundreds of headline news stories that all portrayed me as the  
13 evil banker from the dark side. That I must be corrupt  
14 because I was a financial planner, and I must have been  
15 Nxivm's financial director, which I was never allowed in the  
16 accounting office.

17 And I have been ridiculed and shunned. And after  
18 six years of this non-stop headline news I lost two-thirds of  
19 my clients, millions in revenues, and my reputation was  
20 totally destroyed.

21 The one thing you need as a financial adviser is  
22 trust. My integrity and my character was assassinated for  
23 years in hundreds of headline news stories. And I was  
24 innocent. And I was the one that was being accused of having  
25 done wrongs to you and to Nxivm. And all I did was decide to

1 breakup with Keith Raniere, get punished, then leave and try  
2 to tell people, and just tell the truth. And this is what I  
3 have endured.

4 It is has been 4,197 days that my character has been  
5 assassinated every single day. I can't get new clients. If  
6 you Google me, the top three stories that come up is local  
7 financial planner arrested for felony for a criminal complaint  
8 that you signed. You had me arrested wrongfully. You had my  
9 passport removed for an entire year. I was handcuffed on  
10 Christmas Eve and arraigned. It was the scariest, worst day  
11 of my life.

12 And the Times Union ran a Sunday front page news  
13 that I was a criminal.

14 When your lawsuits against me that were 50,000 a  
15 month. I filed Chapter 11, not at a rate of paying anybody, I  
16 filed 100 percent repayment plan on Chapter 11. And that was  
17 Sunday front page news, news local financial planner files  
18 bankruptcy.

19 And then when you sued me because you're Seagram's  
20 heiress, for ethical, alleged, ethical violations, that was  
21 Friday night headline news.

22 How does a financial planner of my caliber survive,  
23 ever, with those kind of headline news? I can't tell you how  
24 humiliating and ashamed and degraded I felt with those just  
25 three headline news. And yet I was innocent. And you want to

1 know how I'm innocent?

2 My financial planning board that you brought a  
3 complaint to, had eight financial planners who were also  
4 attorneys. And they scoured my records for an entire year,  
5 and they know what they are looking for. And by preponderance  
6 of the evidence that I provided and proved, they closed that  
7 case against me. I was innocent, but it didn't stop.

8 I don't have time to read everything, so I'm just  
9 going to skip to the last page.

10 How do you encompass 20 years of abuse and 11 years  
11 that you have funded lawsuits against me that is still going  
12 on to this day?

13 You reached out a mere three weeks ago. I, like  
14 Susan, read your character reference because I want to know  
15 more about the person that you are, so that I can craft my  
16 statement.

17 I have a letter -- I'm so nervous -- I have a letter  
18 here that you submitted a letter of your attorney. And in  
19 this letter, a mere three weeks ago, you allowed your attorney  
20 to falsely accuse me, defame me, and slander me. And the  
21 entire world is devouring your court filings.

22 You've been under house arrest for two years, and  
23 yet, you have not stopped. You have not stopped damaging me.  
24 When I read this I was immediately terrified. Will you never  
25 stop? Is it not bad enough that my damage is submitted in

1 this courtroom was \$14 million, 14 million.

2                   How is it possible that I'm the one that you sued  
3 more than anyone else, for longer, was more publicly  
4 humiliated and headline news than anybody else. And suffered  
5 \$14 million, which may be more than anybody else. And yet I'm  
6 not viewed as a victim. I'm called a bitch, a whore, a  
7 prostitute, an evil banker, a corrupt financial planner. And  
8 yet, I'm innocent.

9                   I can't even begin to tell you what I want. What I  
10 want, Clare, is my reputation. I want my reputation. For  
11 decades it was unblemished and impeccable and held in a high  
12 regard in my industry. A leader, a pioneer, a pillar of my  
13 community. And I'm still that person that earned that at age  
14 40 to stand next to Marylou Whitney Vanderbilt and co-chair an  
15 event. Yes, me, from Bristol Heights, the income housing  
16 projects. I earned and deserve everything that I did.

17                   I didn't inherit my wealth or my achievement. I  
18 just want my reputation back. I want my good name back. And  
19 I want you to please stop, stop accusing me, slandering me,  
20 defaming me, even to this day.

21                   And I would encourage you, your Honor -- I want to  
22 stay something. Kristin, who just came in, had a profound  
23 effect on my life.

24                   Five years after I quit she called me at  
25 1:00 o'clock in the morning. And I thought, oh, my God, she's

1 playing a double agent. Because she was cleared and Nxivm's  
2 legal liaison. And I thought, holy crap. She said to me, I  
3 left. In that I said to her, Aren't you afraid to call me?  
4 Everybody is terrified to be me and talk to me. And she said,  
5 no because I know the truth. And I never once saw you do one  
6 thing in all of those years that I questioned.

7 Clare, do you realize that they lied to you?

8 (Continued on next page.)

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1 (Continuing.)

2 MS. BOUCHEY: Kristen -- and they told me, barred  
3 from the day you walked through the door, Keith pitted us  
4 against you. He knowingly directed us to lie to you, conspire  
5 to conceal things. You thought you were in the inner circle.  
6 You were six layers out, because that's what we wanted you to  
7 think.

8 It-- Your Honor, I believe that there are some of  
9 us, like Kristen did for me that fateful night -- and it was  
10 painful to hear, you know, he labeled me mentally retarded  
11 because I have two special needs brothers and not to pay  
12 attention to me, because I, too, was mentally retarded. You  
13 know, there are things that Clare has no idea that Keith said  
14 and did to her behind her back, and there are some of us, not  
15 many, me, Kristen, Karen, there's a number of us that could  
16 share with you what we know was kept from you that you don't  
17 know about, that he used you; he conned you; he manipulated  
18 you; he made you feel special just like he did to me, just  
19 like he did to Kristin. It's the same playbook you sued, just  
20 words, just played on you. You just haven't had that defining  
21 moment that I did yet. That's all.

22 But I know you're a good person. As your financial  
23 advisor for a brief time, I saw the goodness in your heart. I  
24 know you wanted to be a humanitarian. I know, and I helped  
25 teach you how to spend your money and be responsible and how

1 not to feel guilty and ashamed of it and to be proud that you  
2 had the opportunity to be a true humanitarian. And I know  
3 that resides deep within you. And you could truly be that and  
4 go on to do more of that.

5 THE COURT: Ms. Bouchey?

6 MS. BOUCHEY: Yes.

7 THE COURT: Time's up.

8 MS. BOUCHEY: Thank you.

9 So I will be praying for you, Clare. I know, I know  
10 you can do this. You can.

11 THE COURT: Thank you.

12 Ms. Keeffe, you have ten minutes, ma'am.

13 MS. KEEFFE: Your Honor, there's a couple instances  
14 where I'm going to use initials for people that were other  
15 victims in the case. I just want to point that out so it  
16 doesn't give us some confusion.

17 THE COURT: So you're just going to use initials?

18 MS. KEEFFE: Just one or two times.

19 THE COURT: That's fine.

20 MS. KEEFFE: Your Honor, this is a difficult thing  
21 for me to read.

22 Clare Bronfman has caused me unimaginable pain. I  
23 have a 13-year-old son with Keith Raniere named Gaelyn.  
24 Throughout Gaelyn's life, Keith had never paid us child  
25 support. When Gaelyn was born, Keith convinced me to lie and

1 not tell anyone that I was Gaelyn's mother and Keith his  
2 father. He told me to tell everyone that I had adopted  
3 Gaelyn. Keith had me convinced that Edgar Bronfman, Clare's  
4 father, would harm Gaelyn if he found out Keith was his  
5 father. When Clare found out about Gaelyn, she concurred to  
6 this with Keith. I never would have believed those lies. I  
7 was so scared. Clare Bronfman insisted repeatedly over many,  
8 many years that her father was a evil, wicked man capable of  
9 orchestrating a wide variety of crimes and violence, and he  
10 was after Keith and NXIVM. I believe I had to live this lie  
11 to protect my son.

12 Being a mother is the most important thing in my  
13 life, my most treasured experience. Keith and Clare made me  
14 lie about them. My own mother I lied and distorted. All my  
15 relationships and all my experiences, it was extremely  
16 deflating for me and you can't imagine the grief and distress  
17 that I felt and the fear that I had for my son.

18 Keith and Clare used to -- there's a story as the  
19 base to justify Keith not wanting paternity of my son and not  
20 paying his child support. Clare told me her father was  
21 checking on her finances.

22 I met Clare in 2003 shortly after I was hired by  
23 Nancy Salzman and Keith to assist with NXIVM's legal affairs.  
24 I worked with Clare closely for the next 11 years --

25 THE COURT: I'm sorry. Are you a lawyer?

1 MS. KEEFFE: No, paralegal.

2 THE COURT: I see.

3 MS. KEEFFE: So I worked with Clare the next 11  
4 years, the last five of which she was my direct boss. Over  
5 time Clare used my fear of her father to manipulate me and  
6 took control of every aspect of my life. She used it as an  
7 excuse to persuade Keith to forego his role with childcare and  
8 to justify Keith not paying his child support. She also  
9 fronted other expenses of Keith's that were enormous so we  
10 didn't have to take a salary from NXIVM or claim he had any  
11 assets. So the Court understands the true scope of what Clare  
12 did, in a very short period of time from 2003 through 2006, I  
13 witnessed her and her sister make cash distributions of  
14 approximately \$100 million to NXIVM and NXIVM-related  
15 endeavors, despite the -- despite the fact that NXIVM as a  
16 business was only grossing about \$4 million a year. Clare has  
17 stated and continues to state these distributions were loans,  
18 despite that neither Clare nor Keith ever expected this money  
19 to be repaid, nor could it be repaid. They both told me as  
20 much.

21 Eventually I fled NXIVM in 2014 out of sheer terror  
22 arising from the fallen. This is not an exhaustive list.  
23 NXIVM was rapidly and most obviously becoming a sex cult in  
24 2012 to 2013, and I didn't want my son to be raised in such an  
25 environment. Keith was sleeping with almost every woman in

1 the higher ranks of the company and his behavior was growing  
2 increasingly and quite publicly out of control.

3 Clare was publicly engaging in wide-spread deeds of  
4 fraught involving MS and Sylvie, some of which involved women  
5 who were providing childcare to my son, KK and BM, while Nancy  
6 and Keith were openly embezzling cash from the various  
7 companies and storing it at Nancy's house, some of which was  
8 seized by the Government after their arrest. I know Nancy and  
9 Keith were not claiming these monies as income. And I thought  
10 this in combination with Clare's phony loans and her abusive  
11 fraud could lead to serious criminal charges filed some day.  
12 I was quite sure Clare, Nancy and Keith might end up in prison  
13 and I told them as much. I saw Clare mentally descending over  
14 several years into a type of dangerous megalomania. I never  
15 met the humble aesthetic Clare that supporters speak of now.  
16 While I worked for Clare various times she wrote a million  
17 dollars worth, bought a 6500 square-foot mansion and flew  
18 around in her 11 million-dollar private jet, all a matter of  
19 public record.

20 Clare's illegal conduct was never about money for  
21 her, it was about her having control of people, including  
22 myself. This caused me extreme psychological duress. Clare  
23 demoted me and refused to pay me a liveable wage. I went from  
24 making a modest 56 to \$55,000 a year to being paid \$13,000 a  
25 year after I protested the continuing litigating of Barbara

1 Bouchey because I thought it was wrongful. I could not  
2 support myself and my son alone on this. I started to feel  
3 like her prisoner and I was her prisoner. My car was  
4 repossessed, my townhouse of NXIVM-owned property and I had  
5 lived in it from three to five years. I know when Clare sent  
6 me a bill for \$5,000 saying I owed back rent, knowing full  
7 well I couldn't pay it. She was trying to psychologically  
8 break me and she almost did.

9 I realize the real reason Clare was funding a large  
10 portion of Keith's expenses was to keep Keith -- keep Keith  
11 safe, judgment-proof, to disempower me and make it impossible  
12 for me to obtain child support for my son. I felt very  
13 powerless.

14 I saw many people around me whose lives fell apart  
15 mentally and financially while under Clare's supervision, and  
16 she exhibited zero conscience about this. I was sure NXIVM  
17 would end in some type of violence. I was terrified of this.  
18 I knew something bad would happen and it did. I became sick  
19 with worry about the state of Daniella. I couldn't stop  
20 thinking about her. I felt I had to report what happened to  
21 her to the police, which I did. I finally recognized that  
22 Clare was attempting to prove her father was behind this  
23 wide-spread illegal conspiracy to destroy Keith and NXIVM and  
24 anyone close to Keith was borne outside of vindictiveness on  
25 Clare's part and might not be true. She had spent millions of

1 dollars to prove her father's crime, including \$1.1 million to  
2 Cavco. She hacked her computer to have his emails read.

3                   When Edgar's health started to seriously fail in  
4 September of 2013, Clare showed up at his home with a film  
5 crew to interview him to get him to confess his crimes on  
6 camera before he died, and actually he didn't confess. Then a  
7 month before Edgar died Clare told me, Oh, I made up with my  
8 father. Just like that, like the past ten years of her  
9 threatening me hadn't happened and she was completely  
10 indifferent to all the lies I had to tell about my only son's  
11 life. After all of that, I knew it was all happening, I had  
12 no choice but to flee NXIVM in Clifton Park, New York, and  
13 report everything I did to the authorities, which I did.

14                   We had to give up our homes, our beloved pets,  
15 everything. I had so much fear about what Keith and Clare  
16 would do to my son and what revenge she might take on me. I  
17 made several reports to the authorities and I easily --  
18 eagerly cooperated with the prosecution team here in the  
19 Eastern District of New York. I don't have any ill feelings.  
20 You can't imagine the loneliness and fear itself to have to  
21 give up everything I own and every single friend that I had  
22 and completely disrupt my son's life to protect us and do the  
23 right thing for others so there would be no harm. It's been a  
24 long, hard struggle but it was the only choice to make.

25                   Unfortunately for me and my son, Clare continues to

1 harm him to this day. In March of this year in the wake of  
2 COVID-19, I spoke directly to my attorney through a private  
3 settlement for child support with Keith Raniere once and for  
4 all --

5 THE COURT: I'm sorry. Can you take your mask off  
6 while you make the rest of your statement, if you don't mind?

7 MS. KEEFFE: I don't mind.

8 THE COURT: Okay. Because I'm having trouble  
9 understanding you.

10 MS. KEEFFE: Okay.

11 THE COURT: Just remove your mask.

12 MS. KEEFFE: Did you understand what I said so far?

13 THE COURT: No, no just finish up.

14 MS. KEEFFE: Okay.

15 In March of this year in the wake of the COVID-19  
16 pandemic, I went directly to my attorneys to enter into a  
17 private settlement agreement for child support with Keith  
18 Raniere once and for all. I was worthy and deserving of child  
19 support from Keith and we were always worthy and deserving and  
20 we should have been paid.

21 With COVID-19 I worry it's not soon enough, fast  
22 enough to rebuild the life for my son and me. I worry about  
23 the fragility of my long-term health. What will happen to my  
24 son if I died?

25 Through Keith's attorneys and my attorney we came to

1 an agreement for a lump-sum payment by Keith to settle child  
2 support payments due in full. I knew that Keith had inherited  
3 money from Pamela Cafritz when she died in 2016, and I learned  
4 the sum of the amount was \$8 million. Keith continues to  
5 represent child support will be paid from his interest in  
6 Pam's estate. So just recently I learned through Matthew  
7 Dorsey, the attorney for Pam Cafritz's estate, the horrifying  
8 reality. The sole reason the estate was not issued to Keith  
9 was because Pam Cafritz's personal tax returns had never been  
10 filed to substantiate the income from the basis of her estate,  
11 and the funds might never issue into Keith's name or it could  
12 be months or years before they do. This was a huge wake-up  
13 call and the fragile thing for me to deal with because of  
14 Clare Bronfman, more secrets and lies. I am crushed and this  
15 has caused me enormous emotional pain, which I'm trying to  
16 hide from my son.

17 Clare conspired with Keith to deliberately not pay  
18 the settle Pam's estate, and it's still not settled. Instead,  
19 Clare fraudulently used Pam's identity to funnel money to  
20 Keith and us and their baby together that Keith would  
21 otherwise claim as income to avoid taxes, which Clare pled  
22 guilty to. The simultaneous consequence of Keith and Clare's  
23 tax avoidance of their crime is depriving my son of proper  
24 financial support from his otherwise extremely wealthy father.  
25 Moreover, Clare established the \$500,000 KR Trust for Keith's

1 other son's benefit.

2 I'm asking the Court to make Clare responsible for  
3 her crime and the damages to my son's life as a result. We  
4 really need to be made whole.

5 I would also like to have any of our personal  
6 things --

7 (Pause in proceedings.)

8 THE COURT: I'm sorry. Repeat what you just said.

9 MS. KEEFFE: Okay.

10 THE COURT: And just slow down and finish up,  
11 please.

12 MS. KEEFFE: I would also like to have any of our  
13 things that we were forced to leave behind in Clifton Park  
14 attorneys, if Clare still has them somewhere. And especially  
15 -- I'm sorry -- and especially my son's baby pictures, which I  
16 don't have them.

17 Thank you.

18 THE COURT: Thank you, ma'am.

19 We'll resume at 1:45 to complete sentencing. I will  
20 first hear from the defense as to the 3553(a) factors and then  
21 the Government as to the 3553(a) factors that the Court should  
22 consider in reaching a sentence that is sufficient but not  
23 greater than that necessary to fulfill the purposes of  
24 sentencing. Then I'll hear from the defendant if she has  
25 anything to say, and then I'll issue my decision as to the

1 sentence.

2                   I would like to thank all the victims who spoke  
3 today. I understand how difficult it has been for the victims  
4 to come forward and make their statements in public. And I  
5 want to give my appreciation to all of you who came forward to  
6 provide your statements.

7                   You are not obligated to discuss anything that you  
8 said or anything that you know with anybody in this courthouse  
9 today or at any other time, and I just want you to be aware  
10 that you were here to discuss your comments for the Court, and  
11 that if you do not wish to talk to anyone else about your  
12 comments, you should understand that that is your right.

13                   And, of course, if you wish to discuss with others,  
14 that is also your right.

15                   All right? Thank you.

16                   THE COURTROOM DEPUTY: All rise.

17                   THE COURT: We will resume at 1:45.

18                   (Recess taken.)

19                   (Continued on the next page.)

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1 A F T E R N O O N S E S S I O N

2 (Time noted: 2:05 p.m.)

3 THE COURT: At this time the Court will hear from  
4 counsel in connection with the factors under 18 United States  
5 Code Section 3553(a) that the Court could take into  
6 consideration in order to impose a sentence that is  
7 sufficient, but not greater than that necessary, to fulfill  
8 the purposes of sentencing. We will begin with the defense,  
9 Mr. Sullivan.

10 MS. HAJJAR: Your Honor I apologize, I wanted to put  
11 on the record one thing before we proceeded.

12 THE COURT: Go ahead.

13 MS. HAJJAR: I wanted to note for the record that  
14 the Court also received 92 additional victim impact statements  
15 in writing, that the Court had also received -- in addition to  
16 the prerecorded video statements and from the victims that  
17 Your Honor heard from today. Lastly, there was one additional  
18 statement from Sylvie, who was not able to come today. It's  
19 very brief if the Court would like to hear it now or --

20 THE COURT: Let me hear it now, but the 92 were not  
21 solely regarding this defendant, were they?

22 MS. HAJJAR: Yes. The 92 reflect impact statements  
23 in connection with this case in general.

24 THE COURT: In general, right.

25 MS. HAJJAR: Yes. But I'm saying with regard to

1 many of those statements which were focused primarily on other  
2 defendant's particularly Mr. Raniere.

3 MS. HAJJAR: That's true, yes.

4 THE COURT: Have you provided those to the other  
5 side?

6 MS. HAJJAR: Yes, Your Honor.

7 MR. SULLIVAN yes, Your Honor.

8 THE COURT: Thank you very much.

9 Now, this statement is from whom?

10 MS. HAJJAR: From: Sylvie, Your Honor, a witness at  
11 Mr. Raniere's trial.

12 THE COURT: You are going to read the statement?

13 MS. HAJJAR: Yes, Your Honor.

14 THE COURT: Okay, proceed.

15 MS. HAJJAR: "Whether Clare intended to hurt me, my  
16 family and many other people who were affected by her actions  
17 is irrelevant. The impact of the psychological, emotional and  
18 physical abuse I and many other experienced at the hands of  
19 Nxivm has been devastating. My family deals with this pain on  
20 a daily basis and, yet, we are so incredibly grateful for all  
21 of the love, support and healing we have received since  
22 leaving Nxivm behind. We will never be able to fully convey  
23 our gratitude to the Government for their tireless  
24 investigation of this case in their pursuit of justice. I  
25 personally hope that Clare Bronfman can find peace and

1       repentance by facing the dark truth of Nxivm."

2                   THE COURT: Thank you very much.

3                   MS. HAJJAR: Thank you, Your Honor.

4                   THE COURT: We will now proceed with the 3553(a)  
5 discussion.

6                   Mr. Sullivan.

7                   MR. SULLIVAN: Thank you very much, Your Honor. And  
8 if I may briefly, I think that I do need to preserve an  
9 objection without argument, but I want to preserve it for the  
10 record that we made in our briefs that Jane Doe 12 is the  
11 victim in this case, given the charges that Ms. Bronfman  
12 pleaded to and to the extent statements that Your Honor heard  
13 introduced new conspiracies, crimes and the like, but that's  
14 outside the scope. So we will reincorporate by reference what  
15 we wrote.

16                  THE COURT: You have your objection.

17                  MR. SULLIVAN: If it please the Court, may I be  
18 heard on the 3553(a)?

19                  THE COURT: Please.

20                  MR. SULLIVAN: Thank you, Your Honor. We certainly  
21 appreciate the opportunity to be heard on this. We, as we put  
22 in our papers, are asking the Court to issue a sentence below  
23 guidelines of three years probation. We're asking the Court  
24 this based on several factors which I would like to discuss  
25 and we think it is appropriate. But first and foremost with

1 regard to the victim in this case, Jane Doe Number 12, you  
2 will hear from Clare later, Your Honor, but through counsel  
3 she would like to express her deep, deep, sorrow for any and  
4 all pain caused to Jane Doe 12. She considers, present tense,  
5 Jane Doe 12, a friend, a person who grew up through the Nxivm  
6 program with her, growing together in certain very important  
7 aspects of life and she is deeply, deeply sorry, and begs the  
8 Court's pardon, begs Jane Doe 12's pardon for everything that  
9 she did to cause her pain; no excuses, just a flat-out apology  
10 to someone whom she cares deeply about.

11 Your Honor, as you know, Clare Bronfman who I have  
12 had the honor of representing is a 41-year-old woman who  
13 before this had absolutely no criminal history. She spent her  
14 youth as a professional athlete and then was introduced  
15 through her family member, her sister and father to Nxivm,  
16 where she began to find a purpose in her life. Clare Bronfman  
17 has wanted to and still wants to help people, and plain and  
18 simple, that has been her mission. She has made mistakes and  
19 we're going to talk about that, but her mission in life has  
20 been to help people.

21 She is privileged and has unearned wealth which she  
22 freely admits through inheritance and she thought and thinks  
23 she ought to use that in a way to help humanity. That is what  
24 appealed to Clare when she was introduced to Nxivm. She and  
25 some 17 or 18,000 additional people found success through

1 Nxivm in terms of being a better person an ethical person, a  
2 humanitarian. That was her goal. That's what she wanted to  
3 do with the gifts that she had and in very many respects, Your  
4 Honor, Clare was successful in helping people for a long time.  
5 We would ask Your Honor to consider that as Your Honor  
6 fashions a sentence.

7 So, with no criminal history prior to this,  
8 Ms. Bronfman has been on house arrest as Your Honor knows for  
9 26 months. No problems. She has been perfect with respect to  
10 her pretrial reporting. Indeed she may report today because  
11 the bracelet was engaging and she's been right here in open  
12 court. She's been diligent including up to today in terms of  
13 abiding by everything that this court ordered. She is a good  
14 risk, Your Honor, to abide by anything that this court decides  
15 to order, should Your Honor grant this probationary term that  
16 we are requesting.

17 We mention the 26 months because we're asking Your  
18 Honor to make an equitable consideration in fashioning an  
19 opinion. We know as a technical matter or a statutory matter  
20 it doesn't count against any time, but we're asking for an  
21 equitable consideration for that fact that she's been on house  
22 arrest now for over two years with her liberty already  
23 severely restricted, as appropriate and as ordered by this  
24 court, and she has had absolutely no problems with that.

25 We also ask, Your Honor, to keep in mind and take

1 into consideration the fact that we are in the midst of a  
2 global health pandemic and to sentence someone to a prison  
3 term with the COVID-19 virus so rampant that even we here are  
4 with shields and face masks and so forth and that that should  
5 be a consideration Your Honor should take in deciding what is  
6 an appropriate and what is a fair and what is a just decision  
7 with respect to Clare.

8 Now, Your Honor, if I may, I just want to speak very  
9 directly about a few of the things that are really two  
10 categories of areas where Clare simply had no involvement and  
11 I think that's important; both because of mentions in open  
12 court and because of what Your Honor has read.

13 We are delighted and relieved that the September  
14 24th letter from the Government, that the Government at a  
15 minimum admitted that it, quote, had not argued that DOS  
16 victims disclose their membership in DOS, in quotes, to Clare.  
17 So it's not just me screaming it to the mountaintops that  
18 Clare knew nothing about DOS. The Government has now said  
19 that they're not even arguing that people told Clare about  
20 DOS. It was a secret society.

21 As we said in our papers and we will say it again  
22 Clare Bronfman denounces and renounces in all of its forms any  
23 sex trafficking, any human trafficking, or any sort of sex  
24 cult, whatever the terms are. Clare Bronfman absolutely  
25 denounces that, as we said, at several points in our papers.

1 It was a secret organization. She was not told about it and  
2 because she wasn't told about it, there is no way she would  
3 know about the branding and so many pages, page after page  
4 after page in both the Government's submission and in the  
5 pre-sentence report were related to DOS and when DOS was a  
6 secret organization. There may be some argument about DOS but  
7 everything having to do with DOS, including the branding, was  
8 secret. We made the representation, the Government now makes  
9 the representation and I would even draw Your Honor's  
10 attention to Ms. Bouchey, who said that many were directed,  
11 and I'm quoting, to lie to Clare: You thought you were in the  
12 inner circle, you were six layers out, end quote.

13 People were directed to lie to Clare to keep certain  
14 things from Clare and all of the issues about DOS simply were  
15 kept from Clare. And, indeed, when Clare learned about them  
16 like the rest of the world when there was a newspaper article,  
17 the Government's own witness, Ms. Saltzman at the hearing at  
18 which Your Honor presided, said they were further directed to  
19 lie to Clare about the scope of what was going on and they  
20 were further directed to lie to the investigators that Clare  
21 hired in her position as essentially a board member in order  
22 to investigate what in the world was going on and that's what  
23 Clare wanted to know.

24 But the Government's own witnesses told Your Honor  
25 that they were lying, still then, and Clare did not know the

1 full scope and maybe as she sits here today maybe not even the  
2 full scope, until the trial. So, I just wanted to make that  
3 point with respect to DOS.

4 Next, with respect to the money that Clare spent  
5 over the years, I fear that Your Honor may be left with an  
6 impression that Clare just sort of willy-nilly gave money to  
7 Mr. Raniere to do as he pleases and, indeed, the submissions  
8 make very sweeping claims that Ms. Bronfman enabled  
9 Mr. Raniere in all sorts of ways with the funds.

10 The truth of the matter, Your Honor, is that the  
11 money can be separated into three distinct areas. It's  
12 provable. It's calculable. The Government knows this. There  
13 are records and there are receipts and I will just mention as  
14 well, not one dime of Ms. Bronfman's money went to DOS,  
15 there's no wire transfer, no check, no cash, nothing, zero.  
16 But the three categories are demonstrable.

17 The first category, about \$67 million went to paying  
18 calls on commodity trades, not as the Government puts it, 67  
19 million to Keith Raniere to go and play in the commodities  
20 market. These were calls on previous investments. 67 million  
21 went to that. That had nothing to do with the operation of  
22 Nxivm. Nxivm had, as I mentioned, 17 or 18,000 people. It  
23 made millions of dollars, even tens of millions of dollars  
24 over the years so that was one category of money, a big chunk.

25 THE COURT: So whose trades were they?

1 MR. SULLIVAN: Some were Keith Raniere's and others  
2 were friends. They were involved in Nxivm, but friends of  
3 Clare who were investing in the commodities market. My  
4 colleague can help put together a list, if Your Honor wants.  
5 I don't have it off the top of my head but trades of friends.  
6 And she covered them fully expecting, as the way calls work,  
7 fully expecting that he would recoup, but --

12 MR. SULLIVAN: No, Your Honor. Not as I understand  
13 it.

14 THE COURT: It's a diversion in a sense, but let's  
15 try to find a point on it. Wouldn't that tell someone, a  
16 person of means, a multimillionaire, that something is wrong  
17 here; that someone invested all of this money and now they owe  
18 \$67 million in commodities trading? What does that tell you?  
19 That is a rhetorical question. What does that tell you about  
20 the individual who you are doing business with or who you are  
21 associated with? I think it is strange.

22 MR. SULLIVAN: It could be, very well. The first  
23 point is that it wasn't all calls from Mr. Raniere. There  
24 were other people involved. The second point is that as far  
25 as Clare knew, that Mr. Raniere was supported by his longtime

1 life partner who was a woman of independent means.

2 How those people involved invested in the market was  
3 not Clare's doing, but they were in the market. There were  
4 calls. If calls are met and if it works out, as Your Honor  
5 knows, she would have gotten her money back. She didn't. She  
6 lost a lot of money. She was not happy about that at all.

7 THE COURT: What year was that. I do not recall?

8 MR. SULLIVAN: '05.

9 THE COURT: She was upset, but she continued to have  
10 a relationship with Mr. Raniere until 2018 when they were  
11 arrested. I wanted to understand what's at play here. I am  
12 just following up on your issue.

13 MR. SULLIVAN: Indeed. Perhaps he and others were  
14 not good commodity investors. She also made more money than  
15 she lost in that period investing and other things personally.

16 THE COURT: I see. Go ahead.

17 MR. SULLIVAN: Yes. But to say that he and others  
18 may have been bad investors in the commodities market is not  
19 to say that she was aware of a RICO enterprise in Nxivm per  
20 se. \$30 million, Your Honor, went to the Ethical Science  
21 Foundation. If Your Honor has had a chance to look at the My  
22 Tourette's documentary that we submitted, from Clare's vantage  
23 point, she was able to see how her investment in a scientific  
24 endeavor played out. Viewing the video, which I have  
25 certainly done many times, the results were incredible. These

1 were people with severe Tourette's Syndrome who -- Clare is  
2 not a doctor. She didn't do the doctoring part of it. She  
3 was an investor, but these are people with severe Tourette's  
4 Syndrome who, in the end, were speaking more fluently than I  
5 am speaking today. It was simply, simply an incredible  
6 change. And that's the bulk of the money; responding to calls  
7 and the money for the Ethical Science Foundation.

8 Now, there were -- the remaining had to do with  
9 litigation and I certainly don't think it's appropriate now  
10 and I don't intend to go litigation by litigation and talk  
11 about that, but, yes, she did fund lawyers in her capacity as  
12 a board member of Nxivm where she thought that intellectual  
13 property and the like of Nxivm was stolen.

14 The only thing I would say --

15 THE COURT: There is nothing in this record in  
16 particular about the advice that she was given by attorneys as  
17 to whether these cases were serious cases that -- where the  
18 rights of the plaintiffs were significantly affected which  
19 would cause a mature, wealthy individual to provide funding  
20 for an extended litigation. I mean, all we've got is they  
21 brought this case and they brought that case and then we hear  
22 from victims of these lawsuits which may or may not be  
23 significant in the sentencing here, but there is nothing --

24 I have never been provided with any kind of  
25 professional statement of counsel as to the kind of advice

1 that was given to Ms. Bronfman. They don't have to. I'm not  
2 saying they should, but if you are saying that these were bona  
3 fide lawsuits against people who had done wrong, civilly or  
4 otherwise, then this was an opportunity to clarify that; and  
5 you have not clarified that because these lawyers have not  
6 come forward to tell me, like the lawyer in Mexico, to tell me  
7 that this lawyer counseled Clare that there was something awry  
8 that caused her to bring -- to threaten litigation against  
9 people who she used to have relationships with.

10 So why are we even talking about it other than she  
11 paid for a litigation? I heard that.

12 MR. SULLIVAN: I will make three points in response  
13 to Your Honor's concerns. First, with respect to every  
14 jurisdiction of which I'm aware, an attorney has an ethical  
15 obligation that prohibits him or her to bring suits or  
16 institute legal proceedings just to vex an innocent. I'm not  
17 aware of any jurisdiction that allows that. That's an  
18 inference that Your Honor can draw.

19 THE COURT: I do not draw that inference without  
20 evidence --

21 MR. SULLIVAN: The second --

22 THE COURT: -- because you are asking me to believe  
23 that there was a bona fide reason for, you know, writing a  
24 check which had an adverse effect on certain people for years  
25 and years and years and that it was a -- that it was done in

1 good faith, all right? The question of good faith is  
2 something that I can take into account. I can take good faith  
3 into account, but there is no way for me to infer that there  
4 was good faith here because no effort was made by your client  
5 to associate her actions with the claim of good faith. That's  
6 all I'm saying. But it doesn't matter. It is what it is. We  
7 have what we have. Let's just move on.

8 MR. SULLIVAN: May I just clarify the record with my  
9 final two points?

10 THE COURT: Sure.

11 MR. SULLIVAN: The second point is we put in our  
12 initial submission that most of the litigation claimed to be  
13 vexatious was, in fact, successful in courts of competent  
14 jurisdiction; another basis for the Court to draw an  
15 inference.

16 And, third and finally, to the extent that the Court  
17 is not moved by any of those two inferences, then it's  
18 certainly not Clare who didn't bring it forward. It's me as  
19 her counsel and I'm ineffective in that respect and I will --  
20 I certainly will live with that, but my representation is that  
21 these cases were filed in good faith. I'm happy to provide --

22 THE COURT: Well, Mr. Sullivan, you are just the  
23 third in a series of very capable lawyers who have been  
24 counseling Ms. Bronfman over the course of this litigation.  
25 You are not alone.

1 MR. SULLIVAN: Very well, I guess I'm not that  
2 capable if we didn't prove up that point sufficiently. But  
3 that's the final category, a large category, of where the  
4 monies went. But that's -- almost 100 million went to two  
5 things clearly unassociated with Nxivm as an organization.  
6 And I just think that is an important aspect to at least  
7 highlight for Your Honor.

11 MR. SULLIVAN: I don't agree with that as I  
12 understand the corporate structure of Nxivm, Mr. Raniere could  
13 have issues. He certainly was the founder and the charismatic  
14 leader and, yes, if he failed, I suppose Nxivm would have  
15 failed. My simple point was that 100 million didn't go to the  
16 corporate entity itself; that it was quite well self-sustained  
17 and, to my knowledge, none of the earnings from the corporate  
18 entity went to the commodities or anything like that. You  
19 know, the 30 million for Ethical Science Foundation was a  
20 group within Nxivm, but it was self-funded for that and, of  
21 course, no one has ever claimed that that money didn't go to  
22 that research. So that's --

23 THE COURT: Okay. Go ahead.

24 MR. SULLIVAN: So, the final section here, Your  
25 Honor, we submitted as well a number of character letters

1 about Clare. Because of the rules of court and federal  
2 statutes they obviously do not have the opportunity to make  
3 the claims in front of Your Honor in open court but we ask  
4 Your Honor to consider these as well. These are people who  
5 have known Clare, some dated back to her pre-Nxivm days,  
6 people within Nxivm who certainly had a very different  
7 understanding and appreciation of the value or of the  
8 organization and some people who may not be fond of Nxivm  
9 anymore, but are still extraordinarily fond of Clare Bronfman  
10 and these letters weren't sort of created out of whole cloth  
11 because of the range.

12 People who have even encountered Clare on somewhat  
13 of a random basis, her acupuncturist, for example, all see  
14 within her a desire to do good and be helpful. Indeed some of  
15 the character witnesses that Your Honor heard from even  
16 mentioned that this seems to be at the core of Clare's  
17 personality; that she wants to do good, wants to be a  
18 humanitarian. If Your Honor finds that that desire was  
19 misused or somehow corrupted through this vehicle of Nxivm,  
20 that just doesn't speak to what is deep within Clare's  
21 character and what she understood herself to be doing in an  
22 attempt to help people in an organization whom she cared  
23 deeply for and to help an organization that she and others,  
24 for some long periods of their lives, cared deeply for.

25 Now, I certainly grant that Your Honor heard a

1 six-week trial and there is a lot that came out about Nxivm as  
2 one witness, Ms. Bouchey pointed out, was absolutely behind  
3 the curtain, was absolutely just hidden and specifically  
4 hidden to Clare Bronfman. I think that was one of the most  
5 significant statements that came out to date, explicitly  
6 directed was the word that was used, directed, to lie to Clare  
7 Bronfman about things going on behind the curtain.

8 So, to the extent Your Honor is thinking through how  
9 to fashion an appropriate sentence, what was motivating Clare  
10 to spend her resources versus what was not and one thing that  
11 clearly was not was recruiting people for sex slavery or  
12 bondage or DOS and all of that that has occupied just so much  
13 paper and has been the result of at least me having to spend  
14 so much time on an issue that, you know, six days before  
15 trial, the Government said we're not even -- we're not arguing  
16 that anymore.

17 But it is so colored, Your Honor, the perception of  
18 Clare as an heiress funding a sex cult, when it's just not  
19 true. Clare's actions after the arrest and so forth have  
20 become a matter of dispute here and I will just say very  
21 briefly that at the trial of Mr. Raniere, Your Honor heard  
22 that key persons were told to lie to Clare about what was  
23 going on and her statement about it being a sorority, not  
24 unlike a fraternity, was simply a function of what people whom  
25 she loved and trusted -- Nancy Saltzman, as Your Honor knows

1 was the witness, people whom she loved and trusted told her  
2 and she -- and she gave voice to that --

3 THE COURT: Lauren Saltzman or Nancy Saltzman?

4 MR. SULLIVAN: I'm sorry. It was Lauren. The  
5 daughter, Lauren Saltzman. If I said the wrong name, forgive  
6 me.

7 THE COURT: I wanted to correct the record.

8 MR. SULLIVAN: Lauren Saltzman. And that's the  
9 Government's witness who said that and so to in any way, in  
10 any way, impute a certain knowledge to Clare when she was  
11 relying on people who she loved and trusted, strikes me as  
12 unfair. And, so, in that sense, you know, this is the basis  
13 of why we are asking for a probationary term.

14 Clare -- the thing -- the entity that many have  
15 claimed through very vivid imagery used Clare in a way that  
16 aided in things that it was doing outside the scope of its  
17 charter is no more. That was a very garbled way of saying,  
18 Your Honor, that Nxivm as an institution doesn't exist. There  
19 isn't a reason then to think that Nxivm is going to in any way  
20 use Clare's wealth even unknowingly, even use it in a way that  
21 is problematic and troubled.

22 With that behind us, Your Honor, the two matters for  
23 which Clare pleaded to were -- the first, of course, Your  
24 Honor had to do with Jane Doe Number 12 and it's the harboring  
25 of an illegal alien. Clare was wrong and she apologizes

1 profusely for doing that.

2                   She indeed violated the immigration laws in  
3 attempting to get Jane Doe 12 back into the -- or keep her, I  
4 should say, in the country. We've laid out context in our  
5 papers. I won't be repetitive. But, yes, she was absolutely  
6 wrong for that and stands ready to be judged by Your Honor for  
7 that.

8                   The second use of a credit card in violation to the  
9 applicable statute. Once again, Your Honor, that violated the  
10 law. Clare Bronfman is remorseful. Clare Bronfman is very  
11 sorry that she did that and, indeed, and indeed, as we put in  
12 our papers once she figured out that that was improper, she  
13 stopped it. It's not like it was part of a diabolical plan to  
14 continue in perpetuity. Once she found out that this is not  
15 the way to do it, it's improper, it's illegal, she stopped it.

16                   Now, the Government claims that this was in some way  
17 in order to shield Keith Raniere from showing income and that  
18 claim seems inconsistent with everything else about this  
19 matter. Her purpose was to get income and care for MF. That  
20 was her purpose. Now, the Government has erected a theory  
21 that this is to shield Keith Raniere from tax liability and so  
22 forth, but again that doesn't seem to follow because Clare  
23 understood that Keith Raniere was inheriting all of Pam's  
24 wealth and that's why she, again mistakenly and wrongfully,  
25 used the credit card and continued paying those bills because

1 she thought, well, it was going to him in a way and the  
2 paperwork would get done at some point and it would all be  
3 his. So she can't both think that Pam's wealth, and I heard a  
4 figure of \$8 million, I have no idea, but Pam's wealth was  
5 going to Keith, but yet she's using a credit card to -- in  
6 this way so that his -- so that he can avoid taxes on  
7 something that she thought was going to him? It's  
8 inconsistent, Your Honor.

9 She was helping MF. That's what she pled to and  
10 that's what she allocuted to and that was her desire. It  
11 violates the law. Clare is very sorry. She should have done  
12 her due diligence up front. She should never have used the  
13 credit card, continued to authorize the use of the credit card  
14 to a person who has passed away, and for that she is sorry.  
15 The point I am simply trying to express to Your Honor is that  
16 her doing so was not part of some grand scheme to shield money  
17 from Keith. It was part of what is illegal and intentioned to  
18 keep funding a dear friend, MF.

19 So, Your Honor, this case has been briefed even --  
20 perhaps even more than Your Honor even likes with 80 pages  
21 here, 60 pages there, another 50 pages in response and letters  
22 flying back and forth. I'm going to adopt by reference all  
23 the arguments made in our submissions and all the responses to  
24 everything that Your Honor -- that Your Honor included. I  
25 made a note, Your Honor, and I apologize that I was slow on

1 the draw, but there were two letters exchanged on September  
2 24th that I think were fairly part of the sentencing  
3 submission as well and the one letter is the one I referenced  
4 where -- from the Government on September 24th where in a  
5 footnote the Government said that it is not arguing that DOS  
6 victims disclosed their membership in DOS to Clare. I think  
7 it's an important part given the pages and pages about DOS.

8 THE COURT: Thank you.

9 MR. SULLIVAN: So forgive me if I was slow on that  
10 but I wanted to add that.

11 And in conclusion, Your Honor, if permitted a period  
12 of probation as we are asking for, Clare will continue to  
13 attempt to use whatever wealth she has left to do some good in  
14 this world. If nothing else, she has learned tremendously  
15 from this experience about how to take ownership of what she  
16 has and make independent decisions with -- and using advisors  
17 to help inform her decisions, but to make decisions that just  
18 comply with not only law but rules and norms. She is a  
19 deeply, highly scheduled person; an individual who wants to  
20 dot every I and cross every T and to just use a colloquial  
21 phrase, do the right thing, Your Honor.

22 That's the Clare Bronfman that sits here before you  
23 right now, an individual who has always been committed to  
24 being in the service of humanity and now has even recommitted  
25 to being in the service of humanity. Things obviously over

1 the last few years got distorted in a way that we can never  
2 turn back. But what she can do and what she's committed to do  
3 and what she will do going forward is to take the same desire  
4 that got her to do the Ethical Science Foundation, the one  
5 that got her to think about how to help people suffering from,  
6 in this case, a neurologic disorder, but suffering is what --  
7 when Clare sees someone suffer, she steps in.

8 As Your Honor knows, she's a business owner. And  
9 when COVID hit, like every place else, it went from an income  
10 to zero; to zero, to closed down, shut down. Clare did not  
11 fire, did not lay off a single employee, but rather used what  
12 resources she had to continue to pay those families so that  
13 they can eat and feed their children and educate them and so  
14 forth. When Clare sees hurt and suffering, she attempts to  
15 step in.

16 And that she has caused hurt and suffering is deeply  
17 upsetting to her, I mean down to the marrow of her bone and  
18 her core, Your Honor, deeply upsetting that she could be the  
19 cause of suffering when all she wanted to do was to help  
20 people.

21 THE COURT: Thank you.

22 MR. SULLIVAN: With a brief indulgence, Your Honor,  
23 in case I neglected something.

24 (Pause in proceedings.)

25 MR. SULLIVAN: Thank you very much.

1                   THE COURT: I will hear from Ms. Bronfman after I  
2 have heard from the Government.

3                   MS. HAJJAR: Thank you, Your Honor. The Government  
4 respectfully requests that the Court impose a sentence of 60  
5 months. Based on everything that's before the Court; the  
6 exhibits, the memoranda the victim impact statements, the  
7 testimony at Ms. Bronfman's co-defendant's trial, such a  
8 sentence is warranted and it's necessary to accomplish the  
9 goals of sentencing. Every factor the Court must consider  
10 under Section 3553(a) weighs in favor of a significant  
11 custodial sentence, not a sentence of probation.

12                  Turning first to the history and characteristics of  
13 this defendant and the nature of the offenses, this is no  
14 ordinary alien smuggling case. Clare Bronfman recruited  
15 individuals into Nxivm and promised to pay them a professional  
16 salary as required by immigration law. And then once they  
17 were here in the United States, Clare Bronfman exploited her  
18 victims for free labor by dangling that salary in front of  
19 them without paying them.

20                  Starting with Jane Doe 12, whom the Court heard from  
21 today, Clare Bronfman promised to pay Jane Doe 12 \$3,600 a  
22 month or over \$43,000 a year as a management consultant in  
23 order to get her a work visa, but the defendant never planned  
24 on paying her that salary. Instead, she paid Jane Doe 12 a  
25 little over \$4,000 for over a year of work, which is less than

a third of the annual salary of a minimum wage worker.

2 Defense counsel in his remarks referred to context  
3 in terms of the communications between the defendant and Jane  
4 Doe 12. The only context that's reflected in the e-mails  
5 between Jane Doe 12 and the defendant was that Jane Doe 12 was  
6 in a desperate financial situation. She sent e-mails to the  
7 defendant asking her to approve a check for money that she had  
8 earned and that check was less than \$200. She said it was an  
9 emergency, that her health was suffering, that she needed the  
10 money to see a doctor and Clare Bronfman refused to approve  
11 the payment. That's the context of their communications.

12 Now, the defendant has asked the Court to consider  
13 only part of her conduct, only as to Jane Doe 12, but as all  
14 of the e-mails in Exhibit A of the Government's sentencing  
15 submission show, this happened again and again; that Clare  
16 Bronfman had no respect for the law, that she repeatedly lied  
17 and created false letters of employment.

18 (Continued on the following page.)

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25

1 (Continuing.)

2 MS. HAJJAR: And then in doing so, she secured a  
3 workforce of people who were dependent on her and dependent on  
4 NXIVM for legal status and for money.

5 And as just one other example, the defendant  
6 recruited a woman from South Africa by writing a letter  
7 purporting to award her a scholarship for her academic  
8 talents. Instead, the woman earned a living by baby-sitting  
9 children, by taking care of Bronfman's dogs, by cleaning the  
10 defendant's house and by doing all kinds of other menial and  
11 unpaid work. And as indicated in the woman's impact  
12 statement, she had to beg Bronfman to pay her tuition each  
13 semester. And each time she did, the defendant asked her, "Do  
14 think you do enough to earn it?

15 In the government's view, the guidelines don't begin  
16 to take into account the gravity of the defendant's conduct.  
17 This was not simply helping someone across the U.S. border.  
18 This was a sophisticated operation. Claire Bronfman used  
19 lawyers and falsified letters of employment to secure visas  
20 for people who genuinely wanted to work in the United States  
21 and believed they were coming here to earn a living. Instead,  
22 the defendant exploited them by making them pay back the cost  
23 of the visa through uncompensated work for her and for NXIVM.

24 I don't know what to make of defense counsel's  
25 argument that as to the other count, the identity theft count,

1 that the defendant was unaware that this was in service of  
2 attempted tax evasion. That is what is charged in the  
3 information and that is what the defendant pled to, commission  
4 of that crime in connection with attempted tax evasion.

5 Now, I want to address two of the points, the main  
6 points that counsel made in his remarks to the Court. And the  
7 first relates to DOS, which the defendant's sentencing  
8 submissions focus on. And from the beginning, the  
9 government's arguments about DOS have been based on the  
10 evidence, the e-mails that the defendant does not dispute she  
11 received and she does not dispute she wrote. After the  
12 existence of DOS became known to members of the NXIVM  
13 community, the defendant received letters from DOS victims  
14 requesting the return or the destruction of their collateral.  
15 These letters were not ambiguous. They specifically  
16 identified the collateral. They described it as naked  
17 photographs, videos of branding, videos of paddling, and  
18 confessions of devastating secrets. The DOS victims made  
19 clear they were lied to in providing this collateral and they  
20 said they wanted it back and they wanted it destroyed. Claire  
21 Bronfman didn't respond to these letters, she didn't undertake  
22 any genuine investigation of what had happened. Instead, she  
23 and Raniere drafted threatening letters to DOS victims that  
24 were sent by attorneys in Mexico. The defendant also tried to  
25 have criminal charges filed against Sarah Edmondson, one of

1 the most vocal of the DOS victims, which Your Honor heard from  
2 today. And I just briefly want to address the defendant's  
3 explanation of this conduct in the reply memorandum. This is  
4 on pages 14 and 15 of the reply filing.

5 First, Claire Bronfman argues the fact that she  
6 received these requests for collateral shouldn't be held  
7 against her because they were also sent to other members of  
8 the NXIVM executive board and those people weren't charged.  
9 And that's simply not true. Keith Raniere, Lauren Salzman,  
10 and Nancy Salzman also received those letters, all of whom  
11 were criminally charged. But more significantly, that  
12 argument completely misses the point. We are not talking  
13 about the culpability of other members of the NXIVM executive  
14 board, we are talking about what the defendant did after  
15 receiving those letters.

16 On page 15 of the defendant's reply memorandum, she  
17 discusses her efforts to send threatening letters to DOS  
18 victims, and this was alluded by counsel today, a couple of  
19 minutes ago. She says that she would never try to silence  
20 crime victims. She was in possession of evidence that NXIVM's  
21 computers had been hacked into and that the NXIVM client  
22 roster was being contacted in Mexico, and that misusing  
23 NXIVM's client list to cause harm to the company was properly  
24 against the law in Mexico and the attorneys in Mexico took  
25 action based on that. That argument is completely

1 contradicted by the facts. These letters were drafted by the  
2 defendant and by Raniere, not by any lawyers. The DOS victims  
3 who received these letters had no involvement with NXIVM  
4 Mexico. They had nothing to do with misusing NXIVM's client  
5 list.

6 And I'd like to point the Court to the actual  
7 letters, which are in Exhibit B of the government's sentencing  
8 memorandum. And those letters make clear that they have  
9 nothing to do with misusing NXIVM's client list or that they  
10 were genuine cease-and-desist letters from Mexican attorneys.  
11 They read, "You are currently connected to several criminal  
12 investigations involving fraud, coercion, extortion and a  
13 series of other crimes. I strongly suggest that you cease and  
14 desist, undo, reverse, cancel and retract participation in all  
15 past, present and future conversations, conference calls,  
16 meetings, news media, social media, blogs or web sites."

17 This wasn't about misusing NXIVM client lists, this  
18 was about, quote, "news media, social media, blogs and web  
19 sites." Bronfman wanted to scare these victims and make sure  
20 they didn't go to the New York Times, like Sarah Edmondson  
21 did, to make sure they didn't speak up about their abuse. And  
22 this was a pattern of behavior in which the defendant used the  
23 threat of criminal charges to silence those she perceived to  
24 be hostile to Keith Raniere. And all of the e-mail  
25 communication with Stephen Herbits in Exhibit C illustrate

1 those efforts.

2 Now, as the Court knows, sex crimes can be difficult  
3 to investigate and prosecute, in part because victims are  
4 often reluctant to speak about what happened to them. And  
5 Bronfman used her position of power and her attorneys to try  
6 to intimidate these victims into silence, and this, too,  
7 warrants a significant upward departure.

8 Next, the Court should consider the need to promote  
9 respect for the law and the need to afford adequate  
10 deterrence. And what is especially concerning to the  
11 government in this regard is that even now Bronfman continues  
12 to unequivocally support Raniere. The defense suggests that  
13 the defendant didn't know the details about DOS or every  
14 detail about all of Raniere's crimes, but she knows now. And  
15 even though Raniere has been convicted by a jury of sex  
16 trafficking, forced labor and exploitation of a child, the  
17 defendant still does not acknowledge that his conduct was  
18 unlawful or wrong. And that's significant because it suggests  
19 the defendant, who has supported Raniere without question or  
20 limitation for decades, will continue to do so.

21 Now, in remarks today, counsel tried to  
22 re-characterize some of Ms. Bronfman's financial support of  
23 Raniere. And I don't want to belabor this, but I do briefly  
24 want to respond to their argument about the \$67 million that  
25 were provided to Raniere. Your Honor, the defendant's own

1 objections to the PSR -- this is on page 25 -- acknowledge  
2 that she made the \$67 million investment to, quote, "allow  
3 Raniere to invest in the commodities market." That language  
4 could not be clearer. This was the defendant's own objections  
5 filed by prior counsel. But the truth doesn't change just  
6 because Ms. Bronfman has new counsel. This was in this  
7 objection to the PSR.

8 And what's more, in a lawsuit, in a trial in 2011,  
9 Claire Bronfman testified under oath that this was a loan to  
10 Keith Raniere. I have copies of the transcript for the Court  
11 and for the defense. But this is the portion of -- the  
12 relevant portion of the transcript:

13 "Question: So the \$65 million that Mr. Raniere  
14 borrowed and lost in the commodities markets, he never had to  
15 sign any loan document form, correct?

16 "Answer: Correct."

17 These arguments about the loan to Keith Raniere,  
18 about funding ESF, which the Court has heard about as a  
19 vehicle to provide visas for those who were coming into the  
20 United States to work for a different -- a NXIVM entity. They  
21 attempt to minimize the defendant's behavior in ways that  
22 suggest that she has not fully accepted responsibility for  
23 this conduct. And counsel's argument that Raniere was not  
24 NXIVM or not DOS simply misses the boat. There is no check in  
25 which the defendant wrote Claire Bronfman to DOS that was not

1 a corporate entity, but she supported Raniere in full without  
2 limitation or restriction, and that is what the government  
3 respectfully asks the Court to consider in terms of  
4 deterrence.

5 And lastly, Your Honor, there also is a strong need  
6 for general deterrence in this case. The fact that the  
7 defendant used attorneys to commit these crimes makes them  
8 particularly difficult to investigate and to prosecute. A  
9 significant sentence will deliver a much needed message that  
10 this conduct will have serious consequences. The government  
11 respectfully submits that there are no mitigating factors that  
12 warrant the sentence of probation that is requested by the  
13 defendant. The defendant's compliance with the terms of her  
14 pretrial release is not a basis for probation. The COVID-19  
15 pandemic, the defendant has provided no basis to impose a  
16 sentence of probation on that ground. The government urges  
17 the Court to impose a sentence of no less than 60 months,  
18 because that is what is necessary to accomplish the goal of  
19 sentencing.

20 THE COURT: Anything else from you, Mr. Sullivan?

21 MR. SULLIVAN: Nothing else, Your Honor.

22 And we're ready for Ms. Bronfman when the Court is.

23 THE COURT: Yes. At this time, Ms. Bronfman, if  
24 there is anything you would like to say before I sentence you,  
25 please stand up, if you feel up to it, and make your

1 statement.

2 THE DEFENDANT: Thank you, Your Honor.

3 THE COURT: If you are reading, read slower, please.

4 THE DEFENDANT: Thank you, Your Honor.

5 THE COURT: Okay.

6 THE DEFENDANT: I'm sorry, my bracelet, it keeps  
7 going off.

8 THE COURT: Your what?

9 THE DEFENDANT: My ankle bracelet keeps going off.  
10 I apologize.

11 THE COURT: Oh.

12 MR. SULLIVAN: That's the noise, if Your Honor hears  
13 it.

14 THE COURT: Just go ahead, please.

15 THE DEFENDANT: Your Honor, I'm immensely grateful  
16 and privileged because all over the world today people are  
17 praying for me because they know my goodness. I'm saying this  
18 because, one, I'm grateful that they're praying for me and,  
19 two, because I hope you will see a glimmer of what they see in  
20 me. It doesn't mean I haven't made mistakes, because I have  
21 made mistakes. I'm standing here before you today because of  
22 my mistakes and my wrongful choices, and for that I am deeply  
23 sorry.

24 I would also like to apologize to my friend who came  
25 here today who is sitting in the room. I am truly sorry for

1 all of your hardship and any pain that I caused you and I  
2 truly hope you can forgive me and that you can live a very  
3 happy life. Sorry.

4 Your Honor, lastly, I'm sorry for the time and the  
5 resources that I have taken from this court and from yourself  
6 for my actions. Thank you.

7 THE COURT: Please be seated.

8 The Court is going to make a sentencing statement at  
9 this time. A copy of the statement will be placed on ECF  
10 immediately following this proceeding for anyone who wishes to  
11 access it.

12 All right. Having calculated the guidelines range,  
13 I now turn to the sentence I will impose. It is  
14 well-established law that the sentencing guidelines are merely  
15 advisory rather than binding under this court. Accordingly,  
16 Supreme Court and Second Circuit precedent require that I  
17 determine an independently reasonable sentence based on an  
18 individualized application of the statutory sentencing factors  
19 in Title 18, United States Code, Section 3553(a). And while  
20 as the Second Circuit has noted, that in the overwhelming  
21 majority of cases a guideline sentence will fall comfortably  
22 within the broad range of sentences that would be reasonable  
23 in the particular circumstances, that is not always the case.  
24 That is particularly true in a case such as this one where the  
25 crimes of conviction standing alone do not fully encompass the

1 larger pattern and misdeeds perpetrated by Ms. Bronfman. This  
2 case is not about an isolated incident of credit card fraud or  
3 the run-of-the-mill case of harboring of illegal aliens for  
4 financial gain. To the contrary, the crimes to which  
5 Ms. Bronfman has pleaded guilty exist in the larger context of  
6 the crimes committed by her codefendants, including Keith  
7 Raniere. A brief description of that context is therefore  
8 necessary before turning to an analysis under Section 3553(a)  
9 factors.

10 Raniere is the founder of an organization called  
11 NXIVM, a self-styled executive coaching and self-help  
12 organization that functioned as a pyramid scheme in which  
13 members paid thousands of dollars for various workshops and  
14 new members were recruited via the promise of payments or  
15 services for enrolling others into the scheme. Raniere made  
16 members of NXIVM call him, quote, "the Vanguard," end quote,  
17 and he maintained a rotating group of 15 to 20 female NXIVM  
18 members with whom he maintained sexual relationships. These  
19 women were not permitted to have sexual relationships with  
20 anyone but Raniere or to discuss with others their  
21 relationship with Raniere.

22 From at least 2009 to 2018, Ms. Bronfman served on  
23 NXIVM's executive board. In 2015, Raniere created a secret  
24 society called DOS, D-O-S, or the VOW. As the PSR explains,  
25 quote, "DOS was comprised of all female masters who were NXIVM

1 members who recruited and commanded groups of all female  
2 slaves. In identifying prospective slaves, masters often  
3 targeted women who were experiencing difficulties in their  
4 lives, including dissatisfaction with the pace of their  
5 advancement in NXIVM. Each DOS slave was expected to recruit  
6 slaves of her own, who in turn owed service not only to their  
7 masters but also to masters above them in the DOS pyramid.  
8 Raniere alone formed the top of the pyramid as the highest  
9 master. Other than Raniere, all participants in DOS were  
10 women. Raniere's status as head of the pyramid was concealed  
11 from all newly recruited slaves, other than those directly  
12 under Raniere. DOS masters persuaded slaves to join DOS by  
13 falsely describing it as a secret women's empowerment group  
14 and that the goal of DOS was to eradicate weaknesses in its  
15 members. Prospective slaves were required to provide  
16 collateral to prevent them from leaving the group or  
17 disclosing its existence to others. Collateral included  
18 sexually explicit photographs and videos of themselves, rights  
19 to financial assets, and videos or letters of true or untrue  
20 confessions that would be damaging to the prospective slave's  
21 family members and friends. After joining DOS, slaves were  
22 required to provide additional collateral, including sexually  
23 explicit photographs and to pay tribute to their masters,  
24 including by performing tasks that would otherwise be  
25 compensable. In addition, several DOS slaves were directed to

1 have sex with Raniere to maintain membership." End quote.

2                   And I would point out that adequate proof beyond a  
3 reasonable doubt of this information was provided at Raniere's  
4 trial by victims who took the witness stand and to my  
5 satisfaction, as well as to the jurors.

6                   As the PSR addendum notes, Ms. Bronfman objects to  
7 this paragraph of the PSR because the discussion of DOS,  
8 quote, "creates a false impression that the defendant was  
9 aware of or even a participant of DOS." End quote. While I  
10 will discuss the extent of Ms. Bronfman's knowledge of DOS in  
11 the context of Section 3553(a) factors, I note that this  
12 paragraph does not state that Bronfman was aware of or  
13 involved with DOS or that she directly funded it.

14                   DOS operated to abuse and exploit young women for  
15 sex, labor and financial gain. There are too many example to  
16 name. To pick one, when a DOS slave developed feelings for  
17 another man, Raniere told her parents that she had committed  
18 an, quote, "ethical breach," end quote, and ordered that she  
19 be confined to her room in her parents home without human  
20 contact. Many DOS slaves were to be branded with a symbol  
21 which, unbeknownst to the slaves, represented Raniere's  
22 initials. At Raniere's instruction, the DOS victim being  
23 branded was held down by other DOS slaves and required to  
24 state, quote, "Master, please brand me. It would be an  
25 honor." End quote.

1                   Following a six-week jury trial over which I  
2 presided, Raniere was convicted of racketeering, racketeering  
3 conspiracy, wire fraud conspiracy, forced labor conspiracy,  
4 sex trafficking conspiracy and two counts of sex trafficking.  
5 To be crystal-clear, Ms. Bronfman was not convicted of any of  
6 those crimes, Ms. Bronfman was not convicted of participating  
7 in any racketeering activity, and there were many aspects of  
8 Mr. Raniere's crimes in which Ms. Bronfman very well may have  
9 not have been familiar. Ms. Bronfman vigorously disputes the  
10 proposition that she was aware of either DOS or any sex  
11 trafficking that Raniere engaged in and she vigorously  
12 disputes the proposition that she knowingly funded DOS or sex  
13 trafficking activity. I agree with Ms. Bronfman that the  
14 available evidence does not establish that she was aware of  
15 DOS prior to June 2017 or that she directly or knowingly  
16 funded DOS or other sex trafficking activities. However, I  
17 believe that this background about not only Raniere and NXIVM  
18 in which she held a leadership role, but also DOS in which  
19 there is no evidence that she directly participated, is  
20 relevant context for my analysis of the appropriate sentence  
21 for Ms. Bronfman. Ms. Bronfman's crimes were not committed in  
22 a vacuum, they were committed in connection with a role in  
23 NXIVM and a close relationship with Raniere, and I believe it  
24 would be inappropriate for me to consider them divorced from  
25 that context.

1                   Before turning to an analysis of Section 3553(a)  
2 factors, it is important to say a word about what I will be  
3 considering in that analysis. First, I have reviewed the  
4 parties' sentencing submissions, I have read the 67 letters  
5 submitted in support of Ms. Bronfman, as well as the many  
6 victim letters that have been submitted. I have listened  
7 carefully to the victims' statements made here today in court  
8 and I have heard and considered counsels' arguments. I have  
9 also considered testimony adduced at Raniere's trial to the  
10 extent that it is relevant and has been proven in my view by a  
11 preponderance of the evidence. It is well settled that the  
12 scope of the sentencing judge's inquiry when analyzing the  
13 Section 3553(a) factors is largely unlimited as to the kind of  
14 information the district court may consider and it is free to  
15 consider evidence of uncharged crimes, dropped counts of an  
16 indictment and criminal activity resulting in an acquittal in  
17 determining sentence. I am not bound by rules of evidence  
18 that would pertain to at a trial and I am not limited to  
19 considering admissible evidence in determining an appropriate  
20 sentence. Particularly relevant here, the Second Circuit has  
21 repeatedly held that a sentencing court is entitled to rely on  
22 information gleaned from a trial in which the person to be  
23 sentenced was neither a defendant nor represented by counsel.

24                   I now turn to the Section 3553(a) factors. Under  
25 Section 3553(a), I must consider several factors in imposing a

1 sentence, including the nature and circumstances of the  
2 offense, the defendant's history and characteristics, the need  
3 for the sentence to reflect the seriousness of the offense, to  
4 promote respect for the law and to provide just punishment for  
5 the offense, the need for the sentence to afford adequate  
6 deterrence and the need to protect the public.

7 Ms. Bronfman argues that a below guidelines  
8 noncustodial sentence is appropriate because there are no  
9 aggravating factors and because her actions were, quote,  
10 "never ill-intentioned," end quote. The evidence suggests,  
11 however, that Ms. Bronfman's conduct underlying her conviction  
12 on Count One was particularly egregious because it was not  
13 only dishonest with respect to the United States Government,  
14 but it was also dishonest and damaging with respect to the  
15 individuals whom she harbored. Ms. Bronfman helped Jane Doe  
16 12 to obtain a visa by representing that she would make \$3600  
17 per month as a, quote, "management consultant," end quote, for  
18 a NXIVM-affiliated fitness company Exo/Eso, E-x-o-/-E-s-o.  
19 Instead, Jane Doe was barely compensated for her work.

20 Her e-mail correspondence with Ms. Bronfman shows  
21 that she repeatedly made Ms. Bronfman aware that  
22 Ms. Bronfman's failure to deliver on the terms of the  
23 employment agreement had left her in dire financial straits.  
24 In November 2015, for example, Jane Doe 12 e-mailed  
25 Ms. Bronfman that, quote, "with no money involved," end quote,

1 she was, quote -- it was, quote, "very difficult to support  
2 herself and to keep pace with no income and with the  
3 uncertainty of not knowing how I will live each day." End  
4 quote.

5 The following month, in December 2015, Jane Doe 12  
6 e-mailed Ms. Bronfman that because Exo/Eso was not paying her  
7 the contractually specified wage she was owed, she needed to  
8 find another source of income, quote, "to support myself  
9 here."

10 Jane Doe 12's victim impact statement makes clear  
11 that she felt tremendous pressure from Ms. Bronfman, who led  
12 her to believe that she did not deserve the salary provided  
13 for her in her employment letter because any business  
14 difficulties that Exo/Eso endured were attributable to Jane  
15 Doe's, quote, "personal issues." End quote.

16 According to Jane Doe 12's statement, Ms. Bronfman,  
17 despite her financial needs and earlier commitments to the  
18 contrary, explained that she, quote, "couldn't pay her," end  
19 quote, because she had failed to enroll enough participants in  
20 Exo/Eso to generate sufficient revenue.

21 Ms. Bronfman also used Jane Doe's immigration status  
22 as a means of pressuring her to continue working without  
23 compensation. When Jane Doe 12 e-mailed Ms. Bronfman to ask  
24 if she could look for another job, Ms. Bronfman replied that  
25 it, quote, "would impact the work agreement," end quote, and

1 cause possible visa issues. Those visa issues just popped up  
2 whenever it was inconvenient for Ms. Bronfman to fulfill her  
3 obligations, and that is a sword to force people to do things  
4 and not get paid to do them. This is the same Ms. Bronfman  
5 who, according to paragraph 183 of the presentence report, had  
6 gross taxable income in the range of 26 million to over  
7 \$30 million a year in the last four years that are reported.

8 Several months later, Ms. Bronfman e-mailed Jane Doe  
9 12 that in order to, quote, "stay here," end quote, she needed  
10 to address, quote, "one fundamental question yet to be  
11 answered, what are you going to do to earn your visa?" End  
12 quote.

13 Importantly, none of these facts are disputed.  
14 Ms. Bronfman does not contend that she provided Jane Doe 12  
15 with adequate or consistent compensation or honor the terms of  
16 the employment agreement, rather she merely suggests that she  
17 was surprised to learn that Jane Doe 12 was unhappy with the  
18 circumstances of her employment and she thought their  
19 relationship was, quote, "caring," end quote, and a, quote,  
20 "friendship," end quote. But her characterization is belied  
21 by Jane Doe 12's victim impact statement and by the e-mail  
22 correspondence between Ms. Bronfman and Jane Doe 12.

23 In short, I find by a preponderance of the evidence  
24 that Ms. Bronfman refused to honor the terms of Jane Doe 12's  
25 employment agreement, demanded work from Jane Doe 12 without

1 compensation and emotionally manipulated Jane Doe 12 into  
2 believing that her own personal failures and job performance,  
3 not Ms. Bronfman's refusal to pay her, were the cause of her  
4 precarious financial situation.

5 I think that part of Ms. Bronfman's statement was  
6 directed this afternoon at Jane Doe 12, and it would appear to  
7 me that Jane Doe 12 was affected by that. I saw it on her  
8 face today. At this very moment in this very courtroom,  
9 Ms. Bronfman is doing again what she did then. This judge is  
10 not blind, Ms. Bronfman. I saw what you just did and I'm  
11 speechless.

12 And all of this emotional and financial pressure  
13 came with severe cost to the victim, a cost greater than the  
14 sum of its parts. Jane Doe 12 was eventually recruited into  
15 DOS, Raniere's secret society in which she was pressured into  
16 giving up, quote, "collateral," end quote, and becoming a,  
17 quote, "slave," end quote. I am not suggesting that  
18 Ms. Bronfman had a direct role in Jane Doe 12's recruitment  
19 into DOS or even if she was aware of it. The evidence before  
20 me does not support such a proposition. But I do find that  
21 the kind of pressure and mistreatment that Jane Doe 12 was  
22 subjected to by Ms. Bronfman put her in a very vulnerable  
23 state, the kind of state that could make a person more  
24 susceptible to be recruited into an organization like DOS.

25 Moreover, the evidence suggests that this kind of

1 conduct was part of a pattern. Ms. Bronfman obtained a visa  
2 for another noncitizen so that she could supposedly earn \$3600  
3 per month as a management consultant at Exo/Eso. Three months  
4 later, that woman e-mailed Ms. Bronfman to say that she had  
5 not been, quote, "prepared for no income," end quote. Despite  
6 this individual's financial predicament, e-mails between her  
7 and Ms. Bronfman demonstrate that Ms. Bronfman's main concern  
8 was that the individual, quote, "go above and beyond," end  
9 quote, to pay her back plus interest.

10 Ms. Bronfman helped obtain a visa for another  
11 noncitizen, a woman from India, and actually paid her a salary  
12 but then required that the woman to pay her back when the work  
13 responsibilities she was given were less than full time.

14 Adrian, the brother of Jane Does 2, 3 and 4,  
15 submitted a victim impact statement in which he states that  
16 Ms. Bronfman, quote, "told me she was going to help me with my  
17 immigration problem, but she never did," end quote, and that  
18 she repeatedly talked him out of returning to Mexico, but,  
19 quote, "made sure I never got my visa so she would always have  
20 something to hold over my head." End quote. Ms. Bronfman's  
21 sentencing submissions suggests that she considered Adrian,  
22 quote, "akin to a younger brother." End quote. Apparently,  
23 the feeling is not mutual.

24 And at least one other woman who worked for  
25 Ms. Bronfman and who was in the United States pursuant to a

1 visa that Ms. Bronfman helped to obtain was recruited into  
2 DOS. As a DOS slave, she was coerced into an unwanted and  
3 nonconsensual relationship with Raniere.

12 Ms. Bronfman's conviction on Count Two for  
13 fraudulent use of identification must also be considered in  
14 the context of her relationship to Raniere and his history and  
15 conduct. The charged conduct concerns Ms. Bronfman's use of  
16 credit card and bank account information belonging to a  
17 deceased individual who had been a close associate of hers and  
18 Raniere's. Over the 15 months that followed this woman's  
19 death, Ms. Bronfman paid approximately \$135,000 in bills  
20 charged to the deceased's credit card. Additionally,  
21 approximately \$320,205 in checks and \$736,856 total  
22 disbursements were withdrawn from the deceased's account. The  
23 government suggests that this conduct was consistent with  
24 Raniere's habit of keeping expenses out of his name in an  
25 effort to avoid tax liability, while Ms. Bronfman

1 characterizes her actions as a mere misunderstanding and a  
2 victimless crime since the deceased had left the entirety of  
3 her estate to Raniere. She also suggests that her only  
4 involvement in the scheme was that her office handled the  
5 bookkeeping for the deceased's account and that her role was  
6 therefore minimal and indirect. Ms. Bronfman denies that she  
7 engaged in any effort to intentionally help Raniere keep money  
8 out of his name. I agree with her that the preponderance of  
9 the evidence available to me does not suggest what her  
10 specific intentions were in authorizing expenditures of a  
11 deceased woman's money, but I do find by a preponderance of  
12 the evidence that the facts underlying this offense are  
13 consistent with a pattern of facts suggesting that Raniere  
14 attempted to minimize money that was in his name. And I find  
15 by a preponderance of the evidence that Ms. Bronfman's conduct  
16 in committing this offense helped to facilitate those efforts  
17 on Raniere's part, regardless of whether or not that is what  
18 Ms. Bronfman understood herself to be doing. This crime, like  
19 the crime in Count One, was committed within a larger context  
20 of more serious crimes and alarming behavior by Ms. Bronfman's  
21 codefendants and was consistent with the hallmarks and aims of  
22 that behavior. That does not necessarily mean that  
23 Ms. Bronfman shared in those aims, but it is still a relevant  
24 context and I can take it into consideration.

25 Ms. Bronfman is a person of considerable privilege

1 and wealth, so much so, in fact, that she was able to give  
2 NXIVM and other Raniere-associated endeavors more than  
3 \$100 million. There is nothing wrong with being wealthy, of  
4 course, but I am troubled by the evidence suggesting that  
5 Ms. Bronfman repeatedly and consistently leveraged her wealth  
6 and social status as a means of intimidating, controlling and  
7 punishing individuals whom Raniere perceived as his  
8 adversaries, particularly NXIVM'S detractors and critics.

9 For example, in 2008, in a 2008 e-mail to Stephen  
10 Herbits, H-e-r-b-i-t-s, a friend of Ms. Bronfman's father whom  
11 she believed to have political connections, Ms. Bronfman  
12 inquired whether criminal indictments could be brought against  
13 NXIVM critic Rick Ross. She wrote that the, quote, "Ross camp  
14 needs to be fearful, back down and look to fix the damage they  
15 have done," end quote," and that, quote, "the thought of  
16 criminal charges may help inspire this." End quote. In a  
17 separate e-mail, she indicated that she hoped Mr. Herbits  
18 would, quote, "rapidly facilitate Mr. Ross's indictment and  
19 conviction." Mr. Herbits testified at Raniere's trial that  
20 Ms. Bronfman also asked him to contact the Attorneys General  
21 of New York and New Jersey to request that they prosecute  
22 Mr. Ross.

23 Furthermore, Ms. Bronfman's efforts to intimidate  
24 and silence NXIVM's critics were not limited to its prominent  
25 and powerful detractors. In 2017, for example, she e-mailed a

1 Mexican lawyer photographs of three of Raniere's former  
2 partners along with descriptors that seemed to be aimed at  
3 facilitating the former partners' contemporaneous  
4 identification. According to the government, all three of  
5 these women had become vocal critics of Raniere. It is not  
6 clear from the record why Ms. Bronfman wanted this lawyer to  
7 be able to visually identify these women, but it is hard to  
8 imagine an innocuous explanation.

9 Numerous victim impact statements from other  
10 individuals corroborate the fact that Ms. Bronfman was  
11 forceful and aggressive in her efforts to use the legal system  
12 to silence NXIVM's critics. One woman wrote that Ms. Bronfman  
13 and Raniere, quote, "put a lot of pressure on her to sue her  
14 mother because she was publicly speaking out about NXIVM and  
15 they wanted to silence her." End quote. The parents of a  
16 young woman whom NXIVM sued for publishing its course  
17 materials online wrote that it is, quote, "not possible to  
18 overstate," end quote, the significance of Ms. Bronfman's  
19 financial support for the litigation against their daughter,  
20 calling her, quote, "the very fuel that powered the NXIVM  
21 engine of vengeance and cruelty." End quote.

22 It was one thing to believe in NXIVM's mission and  
23 methods and to adhere to its teachings. As Ms. Bronfman  
24 points out, she was far from alone in that respect. But the  
25 record is clear that she used her incredible wealth and

1 attempted to use her social status and connections not only to  
2 support NXIVM's work, but also was a means of intimidating,  
3 threatening and exacting revenge upon individuals who dared to  
4 challenge its dogma.

5 This culture of stifling and threatening dissenters,  
6 a culture that Ms. Bronfman clearly participated in and  
7 perpetuated, is the same culture that gave rise to the darkest  
8 and most horrific crimes that Raniere and others committed.  
9 This was one of the mechanisms by which Raniere exerted and  
10 retained power over his victims. And even if Ms. Bronfman did  
11 not knowingly facilitate Raniere's worst crimes, as a general  
12 matter she was his accomplice in the effort to intimidate and  
13 silence detractors, using her wealth and privilege as a sword  
14 on Raniere's and NXIVM'S behalf.

15 (Continued on the next page.)

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1 (Continuing.)

2 THE COURT: Ms. Bronfman's comfort with using her  
3 wealth and status to attack perceived enemies is evidenced in  
4 further ways. The first involves her role in hacking into a  
5 computer of her father, Edgar Bronfman. In October 2003  
6 Forbes Magazine published an article in which Mr. Bronfman was  
7 quoted as calling Nxivm a "cult." From that point on, Raniere  
8 reportedly considered Mr. Bronfman to be on the "enemy side."  
9 as a result, Raniere told Jane Doe 4 that it would be good to  
10 gain access to Mr. Bronfman's e-mail.

11 Initially the plan to access Mr. Bronfman's e-mails  
12 was that Ms. Bronfman, given her relationship with her father,  
13 would send him e-mail messages containing a link to software  
14 that when opened would infect his computer and provide Jane  
15 Doe 4 access to his e-mail. Jane Doe 4 testified that she  
16 handed Ms. Bronfman a USB with a file on it that she would  
17 send to her father as an attachment. Ms. Bronfman sent  
18 multiple e-mails with the attachment to the father; but the  
19 plan was stymied because for whatever reason, Mr. Bronfman did  
20 not open the e-mails. To overcome this obstacle, Ms. Bronfman  
21 ended up physically plugging a USB drive given to her by Jane  
22 Doe 4 into her father's computer, clicking on the necessary  
23 software, and infecting the computer locally. Ms. Bronfman  
24 was successful, and Jane Doe 4 was able to monitor  
25 Mr. Bronfman's e-mail, which she did "regularly, mostly at the

1 request" of Raniere. Ms. Bronfman's attempts to downplay this  
2 incident as an "unproven" and a mere "family dispute"  
3 notwithstanding. I find that Jane Doe 4's testimony credibly  
4 establishes Ms. Bronfman's role in this scheme by a  
5 preponderance of the evidence. And I am troubled by  
6 Ms. Bronfman's dismissive characterization of this incident as  
7 a "family dispute." This is serious conduct, and it became  
8 more of a family dispute the moment that Ms. Bronfman gave  
9 access to her father's e-mail account to individuals that were  
10 outside the family and who in fact considered her father to be  
11 an "enemy."

12 Ms. Bronfman was not finished helping Raniere spy on  
13 his perceived enemies. According to the testimony of FBI  
14 Special Agent Michael Weniger, Ms. Bronfman paid "upwards of  
15 \$400,000" to a Canadian company called can Canaprobe to spy on  
16 Raniere's enemies, including Rick Ross. In the face of this  
17 testimony, Ms. Bronfman now argues that she was "led to  
18 believe that Canaprobe's work was legal because Canada had  
19 different laws than the United States."

20 While, I find it difficult to imagine that  
21 Ms. Bronfman thought that this kind of surveillance would be  
22 legal in Canada but not in the United States, that debate is  
23 purely academic. Ms. Bronfman concedes that she was aware  
24 that Canaprobe specialized in "tracking global asset movement  
25 and concealment," and the testimony of Special Agent Weniger,

1 supported by substantial documentary proof, establishes by a  
2 preponderance that Ms. Bronfman spent hundreds of thousands of  
3 dollars on Canaprobs services in an attempt to gain information  
4 about Raniere's so-called enemies. I find this behavior to be  
5 yet another example of a consistent theme of Ms. Bronfman: At  
6 every turn she was a willing partner to Raniere in his efforts  
7 to intimidate and silence perceived enemies or threats.

8           Perhaps the most troubling of this theme concerns  
9 Ms. Bronfman's actions when she was confronted with the  
10 information about DOS. Ms. Bronfman is adamant comment that  
11 DOS was a secret society that she "neither participated nor  
12 knew anything about it." To be clear, the fact that some  
13 "commodities," a "few loans," and "patents," translated to  
14 Ms. Bronfman giving Raniere and Raniere-associated endeavors  
15 more than \$100 million, yet again, an almost unshakeable  
16 commitment to Raniere on the part of Ms. Bronfman. Yet, I  
17 discuss DOS not because the evidence establishes, for example,  
18 that Ms. Bronfman funded specific DOS activities or even knew  
19 about specific DOS rituals in real time. I do not find that  
20 the Government has proven by a preponderance of the evidence  
21 that Ms. Bronfman knowingly funded particular criminal  
22 activities. I do not find that Ms. Bronfman knowingly funded  
23 a sex cult.

24           There is ample evidence, however, that as  
25 Ms. Bronfman was confronted with information about DOS, and,

1 therefore, necessarily became aware of it, she doubled down on  
2 her support of Raniere and pursued her now familiar practice  
3 of attacking his critics.

4 In June 2017, the existence of DOS started to become  
5 known within the larger Nxivm community when the husband of  
6 Sarah Edmondson, a DOS "slave," publicly confronted a DOS  
7 First Line member, Lauren Salzman, about the cult.

8 Subsequently Ms. Salzman began to receive requests by DOS  
9 slaves, many of whom were longtime Nxivm members who  
10 Ms. Bronfman knew, that their collateral be returned to them.  
11 When asked what she did when she received those requests, Ms.  
12 Salzman testified that "I forwarded them to Clare" because  
13 "Clare was heading up our legal initiatives."

14 One such e-mail from a DOS victim that Salzman  
15 forwarded to Ms. Bronfman began as follows: "I am requesting  
16 the immediate return and/or destruction of the collateral I  
17 provided to you, as well as the nude photographs and videos of  
18 me that were produced within DOS under your direction." It  
19 continued, "My participation in DOS and all material provided  
20 or created during that time was based on false information you  
21 gave me end." It concluded, "I don't want to worry about my  
22 collateral being exposed and I absolutely have that right."

23 Ms. Bronfman protests what she considers to be the  
24 Government's assertion that her receipt of these e-mails  
25 imputes to her foreknowledge of DOS's activities. That is not

1 what I find to be true, and I do not base Ms. Bronfman's  
2 sentence on the assumption that she knew about DOS prior to  
3 receiving these e-mails. What it does impute, however, and  
4 what I do consider relevant is Ms. Bronfman's awareness, in  
5 that moment, of DOS victims urgently reaching out to cover  
6 their "collateral," including as Ms. Bronfman now knew, nude  
7 photographs and videos and expressing obvious fear that this  
8 collateral would be exposed.

9                   With this knowledge Ms. Bronfman could have begun to  
10 distance herself from Raniere in an attempt to help those who  
11 were clearly in need. Instead, she chose to double down on  
12 her support for Raniere, even helping to facilitate further  
13 intimidation of DOS victims. For example, shortly after  
14 learning that the New York Times would be publishing an  
15 article about DOS in September 2017, Raniere sent an e-mail to  
16 Ms. Bronfman with the subject line, "What are your thoughts"  
17 containing a draft of a threatening letter to be sent to DOS  
18 victims.

19                   The Government has quoted I think part of that  
20 letter and I'm not going to quote it again, but I'm placing it  
21 in the record as part of my statement.

22                   Less than 30 minutes later, Ms. Bronfman e-mailed  
23 the text of the e-mail to an associate in Mexico. The next  
24 day the DOS victim referenced in the draft e-mail received an  
25 e-mail from a Mexican attorney, Ricardo Olmedo, with an

1 attachment of a Microsoft Word document containing nearly word  
2 for word the text of the e-mail sent by Raniere to  
3 Ms. Bronfman. Metadata of the Word document received by the  
4 DOS victim reflects that the creator of the document was  
5 Ms. Bronfman. Raniere sent further drafts of threatening  
6 e-mails to Bronfman who passed them along to Olmedo, who sent  
7 them to DOS victims.

8 In other words, here we have Ms. Bronfman in  
9 September 2017 working hand-in-hand with Raniere to intimidate  
10 and silence victims of Raniere's a brutal campaign of sexual  
11 abuse and exploitation. I frankly find Ms. Bronfman's  
12 explanation of this behavior deeply disingenuous.

13 Ms. Bronfman argues that she was "informed individuals  
14 associated with Nxivm Mexico company were being called, scared  
15 and persuaded to leave Nxivm." As a result, and supposedly  
16 out of magnanimous sense of duty to people who were reliant on  
17 Nxivm for their income and whose livelihoods might be put at  
18 risk if Nxivm members were talked into leaving. Ms. Bronfman  
19 explained that she "sought legal counsel to help stop what she  
20 was told was criminal behavior based in Mexican law," and  
21 "together with Nxivm Mexico lawyers aggressively tried to stop  
22 the damage."

23 Such an argument flies in face of the facts.  
24 Raniere specifically sought out Ms. Bronfman to review and  
25 forward his threatening letters, which she then ensured were

1 sent to Raniere's victims. She cannot now seek to pawn off  
2 the entire chain of events on counsel. Ms. Bronfman further  
3 avers that she merely engaged counsel in Mexico out of a  
4 concern that Nxivm's client list was being misused. That  
5 suggestion is belied by the language of the letter, which is  
6 plainly written in a manner designed to threaten its  
7 recipient. In lieu of any mention of the Nxivm client list  
8 the letter accuses its recipient of being "connected to  
9 several criminal investigations involving fraud, coercion,  
10 extortion, harassment, stalking, theft, larceny, hate crime,  
11 criminal conspiracy, breaking and entering, computer crimes,  
12 wire fraud, criminal enterprise, and corporate espionage."  
13 That is a threat.

14 And not surprisingly, recipients of these e-mails  
15 felt threatened. One DOS victim who received a threatening  
16 letter writes to the Court that "words can not describe" the  
17 experience of receiving a "threatening letter from a lawyer in  
18 Mexico that basically warned me that I better keep my mouth  
19 shut about DOS or I would suffer the consequences." Another  
20 DOS victim who received such a letter writes that the letter  
21 represented "underhanded intimidation to scare me into  
22 remaining silent." The victim's statement continues, "When I  
23 was at my most vulnerable, Clare Bronfman traumatized me."

24 The trend continued for Ms. Bronfman. In  
25 December 2017, Ms. Bronfman issued a public statement in which

1 she falsely characterized DOS as a "sorority" that "truly  
2 benefited the lives of its members and does so freely."  
3 Ms. Bronfman is adamant that at the time she made the  
4 statement "she was acting with limited information" and that  
5 she "did not understand the full scope of DOS until Keith  
6 Raniere's trial."

7 What Ms. Bronfman did not know at the time, however,  
8 was that DOS victims were reaching out to Lauren Salzman  
9 asking for their -- sorry.

10 What Ms. Bronfman did know at the time, however, was  
11 that DOS victims were reaching out to Lauren Salzman and  
12 asking her for their "collateral" of nude photographs and  
13 videos to be returned. She knew that Raniere had sent  
14 threatening letters to DOS victims, letters she helped draft  
15 and send. She knew in October 2017 the New York Times  
16 published an exposé on DOS, in which, for example former DOS  
17 "slave" Sarah Edmondson describes getting branded and saying  
18 as instructed, "Master, please brand me. It would be an  
19 honor."

20 Yet, Ms. Bronfman was too concerned with, as she put  
21 it in her December 2017 statement, the potential "tragedy" of  
22 losing the "innovative and transformational ideas and tools"  
23 of Nxivm to acknowledge the horrors that had occurred within  
24 the community to which she both belonged and helped lead or  
25 take action on behalf of those who had been badly hurt.

1 To the contrary, she acted against their interests  
2 and in defense of Raniere, yet again, by seeking to have  
3 criminal charges brought against Ms. Edmondson in Vancouver.  
4 She subsequently traveled to Mexico to live with Raniere,  
5 during which time Raniere invited First Line DOS members to  
6 participate in a "recommitment ceremony." And After Raniere's  
7 arrest, Bronfman funded his legal defense, including an  
8 initial deposit of approximately \$5 million to the fund from  
9 which her co-defendants' legal fees were paid. To date,  
10 Ms. Bronfman has contributed \$13,800,000 to an irrevocable  
11 trust to pay the legal fees of Raniere and other  
12 co-defendants. I find this behavior indicative of  
13 Ms. Bronfman's allegiance to Raniere, whatever the cost,  
14 whomever it hurts, and highly relevant to the application of  
15 the Section 3553(a) factors to Ms. Bronfman's sentence.  
16 Ms. Bronfman came to learn details about DOS and faced a  
17 choice as to whose interests she would protect: Raniere's or  
18 his victims. She chose Raniere unequivocally, and to this day  
19 she has not clearly apologized for that choice, admitted her  
20 actions were harmful, or conceded that her loyalty was  
21 misplaced.

22 Ms. Bronfman repeatedly argues that she knew nothing  
23 about and never funded DOS. As I said earlier, I do not base  
24 my sentence on a finding that contradicts either of those  
25 claims. However, I do find it relevant that Ms. Bronfman

1 seems to have a pattern of willful blindness when it comes to  
2 Raniere and his activities. As Lauren Salzman testified,  
3 Ms. Bronfman "didn't want to know anything about DOS that she  
4 didn't need to know."

5 I find that the testimony particularly credible  
6 because it would not be the first time that Ms. Bronfman  
7 exuded the sense that she wanted to participate in Raniere's  
8 world while remain unaware of uglier aspects. For example,  
9 when she tried to get Stephen Herbits to convince authorities  
10 to bring criminal charges against Raniere-enemy Rick Ross,  
11 Bronfman told Herbits, "I don't need to know who is funding  
12 the efforts, how you stop that from continuing. In fact, I  
13 don't want to know. It just needs to be done and quickly."

14 I also find it relevant that Ms. Bronfman's  
15 allegiance to Raniere shines through again and again. She has  
16 paid his legal fees and to this day, maintains that he  
17 "greatly changed her life for the better." That is consistent  
18 with both her actions as described above and from what others  
19 have said about.

20 Raniere and his adherents appear to understand  
21 Ms. Bronfman's continued loyalty, even after his trial and  
22 conviction during which all the details of his sexual abuse  
23 and exploitation became known to the world. For example, in a  
24 post-conviction call between Raniere and Jane Doe 3, Jane Doe  
25 3 reported that Ms. Bronfman is "very good with you," to which

1 Raniere responded, "I don't think her view of me has changed  
2 at all, if anything it's gotten stronger." Later in the  
3 conversation when discussing whether Jane Doe 3 could share  
4 with Ms. Bronfman an op-ed about DOS authored by Raniere,  
5 Raniere explained "Yeah, oh, absolutely, yeah, anything with  
6 Clare."

7 Raniere's view that Bronfman remains loyal to him to  
8 this day only buttresses my conclusion that Ms. Bronfman was  
9 concerned first and foremost with protecting Raniere and  
10 attacking his enemies. That she personally feels like Raniere  
11 changed her life for the better is beside the point. And  
12 while she might not have known about DOS before receiving the  
13 collateral e-mails in September 2017, I had find it clear that  
14 in her own words, she did not want to know either.

15 In determining an appropriate sentence I also  
16 considered the need for a sentence that I impose to reflect  
17 the seriousness of the offense, promote respect for the law  
18 and provide just punishment. As I mentioned, the offenses of  
19 conviction, particularly Count One, were more serious here  
20 than those crimes might ordinarily be under other  
21 circumstances. The immigration-related offense is serious  
22 because Ms. Bronfman's dishonesty and misrepresentations were  
23 harmful, not only to the federal Government but to the  
24 immigrants like Jane Doe 12, who were taken advantage of and  
25 put in a position of having to work for little or no pay.

1 Likewise, Ms. Bronfman's conduct with respect to Count Two had  
2 the effect of facilitating Raniere's efforts to keep money out  
3 of his name.

4 With respect to promoting the respect for the law,  
5 I'm mindful of Ms. Bronfman's history of seeking to manipulate  
6 the legal system to her advantage, both in her execution of  
7 the offenses of conviction, and for example, by seeking to  
8 leverage her social connections to have criminal charges  
9 brought against Raniere's critics. This is not a defendant  
10 who has shown great respect for the law amount, am a just  
11 punishment must take that into account.

12 I also need to consider the extent to which the  
13 sentence will operate as a deterrent. Ms. Bronfman's  
14 circumstances are rather unique. I don't know how many other  
15 multi-millionaires are out there, ready to devote limitless  
16 resources at their disposal to pyramid schemes run by  
17 dangerous criminals and stifling the voices of their victims.  
18 But in another sense, her circumstances are not so unique.  
19 She maintains that she was an innocent bystander to Raniere's  
20 abhorrent conduct, completely blind to Raniere's crimes and  
21 the sex trafficking that occurred within the Nxivm community.  
22 As I have said, I find that any such blindness was willful and  
23 cultivated, and Ms. Bronfman's sentence can and should serve  
24 to deter other people who find themselves in situations in  
25 which they can chose to either confront or avert their gaze

1 from the harm brought by their actions and the actions of  
2 those to whom they are close.

3 I also need to consider whether the sentence will  
4 protect the public from further crimes committed by  
5 Ms. Bronfman. I believe that Ms. Bronfman has been chastened  
6 by this experience, and she expressed remorse for the crimes  
7 to which she pleaded guilty. I don't doubt her sincerity. It  
8 does, however, concern me that she continues to stand by  
9 Raniere and believe in his work, even as he stands convicted  
10 of heinous conduct. Nonetheless, I don't expect her to commit  
11 further crimes of this nature, regardless of the sentence that  
12 I imposed.

13 I've considered the range of sentences by the  
14 Sentencing Guidelines. There is no minimum mandatory sentence  
15 for the offenses of conviction, and Ms. Bronfman requests a  
16 non-custodial sentence. I've considered that possibility, but  
17 given the nature and circumstances of the offenses and the  
18 context in which they were committed, my view is that a  
19 non-custodial sentence would be insufficient. I have  
20 considered the sentences that are below the Guidelines range,  
21 and the sentences that are within the range, and I have  
22 considered sentences that are above that range, up to and  
23 statutory maximums of ten years on Count One and 15 years on  
24 Count Two. Because these sentences may be imposed either  
25 concurrently or consecutively, the combined statutory maximum

1 I sentence Ms. Bronfman to is 25 years.

2 I've considered the need to avoid unwarranted  
3 sentence disparities between Ms. Bronfman and other defendants  
4 who have been convicted of similar conduct. But I find for  
5 the reasons I have explained, that the context of  
6 Ms. Bronfman's criminal conduct places her in and all together  
7 different category from other defendants convicted of the same  
8 offenses; and, therefore, her circumstances defy easy  
9 comparison. I've also considered the threat that Covid-19  
10 poses to incarcerated persons and the humanitarian need to  
11 minimize our prison populations in light of the pandemic.  
12 Neither Ms. Bronfman's age nor health condition place her in  
13 the category of high-risk individuals, and I find that her  
14 conduct warrants custodial sentence even during the pandemic.

15 Finally I have considered the appropriateness of  
16 imposing a fine, as I am obligated to do subject to 18 United  
17 States Code, Section 3571, unless I find Ms. Bronfman unable  
18 to pay. Section 3571(b) permits me to impose a fine on each  
19 count of up to \$250,000, for a total of \$500,000. In addition  
20 to the factors I have noted already, Section 3572(a) sets out  
21 additional factors that I must consider in determining whether  
22 to impose a fine; and if I do, what the amount should be.  
23 These factors include Ms. Bronfman's ability to pay and the  
24 financial burden that a fine impose on her or anyone else.  
25 They also include the expected cost to the Government of her

1 sentence. The Guidelines fine range for Ms. Bronfman offense  
2 is between 10,000 and \$95,000. Ms. Bronfman points out that I  
3 may not impose an excessive fine as punishment, and that I  
4 should not increase the fine above the suggested range simply  
5 on the basis of her ability to pay.

6 In light of Ms. Bronfman's wealth there is no  
7 question that she can afford to pay any fine that I might  
8 impose, up to and including the statutory maximum. As I've  
9 already explained, I find that the seriousness of her offenses  
10 viewed in the context of her other conduct and the conduct of  
11 her co-defendants to whom she remains loyal justifies a  
12 serious sentence. As one aspect of that sentence, I'm  
13 imposing the statutory maximum fine of \$500,000. I select  
14 this fine amount not because Ms. Bronfman is wealthy, but  
15 because I believe the nature and seriousness of her conduct  
16 warrants such a substantial fine. And because I find that her  
17 personal financial circumstances do not preclude from imposing  
18 it.

19 In determining an appropriate sentence I am guided  
20 by the Second Circuit's instruction that I use the Guidelines  
21 as an initial benchmark and then make an informed an  
22 individualized sentencing determination, taking into account  
23 all the statutory factors. Applying the statutory factors to  
24 this case I find that a substantial upward variance is  
25 appropriate. As the foregoing has made clear, I find that the

1 nature and circumstances of Ms. Bronfman's offenses exacted a  
2 harm not reflected in the Guidelines and placed her conduct  
3 outside the ordinary realm of these offenses. I also find  
4 that a fair appreciation of her history and characteristics,  
5 including her repeated attempts to leverage her wealth and  
6 status as a sword against Raniere's enemies, and her decision  
7 as she became aware of DOS to remain steadfast in her support  
8 of Raniere, lead to the conclusion greater than the upper  
9 limit of a Guidelines is warranted. The remaining statutory  
10 factors, likewise, reflect the above guideline sentence.

11 The defendant will stand. I sentence you,  
12 Ms. Bronfman -- are you ready to be sentenced?

13 THE DEFENDANT: Yes, your Honor.

14 THE COURT: I sentence you, Ms. Bronfman, as  
15 follows: A prison sentence of 81 months in the custody of the  
16 Attorney General, which is three times the high end of the  
17 Guidelines range, and which takings into account the severity  
18 of your illegal behavior. A fine in the amount of \$500,000  
19 the statutory maximum, payable immediately. A \$200 special  
20 assessment, also due immediately. Three years'  
21 post-incarceration supervised release on each count to be  
22 served concurrently, restitution in the amount of \$96,605.25  
23 to Jane Doe 12 on Count One. And finally I also enter and  
24 order forfeiture money judgment of \$6 million, which you have  
25 consented to in your plea agreement, payable within 30 days.

1                   You have the right to appeal your sentence to the  
2 United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit if you  
3 believe the Court has not properly sentenced you. Your time  
4 to appeal is extremely limited, so you should consult with  
5 your attorneys at once whether an appeal would be worthwhile.

6                   You may be seated.

7                   I'm prepared to remand the defendant.

8                   MR. SULLIVAN: We ask that you allow Ms. Bronfman to  
9 surrender herself, get her affairs in order, particularly  
10 given some of the money judgments that we need her present in  
11 order to help facilitate quickly, so a reasonable amount of  
12 time for surrender. She's been compliant and has 100 million  
13 bond existing already, so we ask for a reasonable amount of  
14 time.

15                  THE COURT: Well, the application is denied.  
16 Ms. Bronfman has attorneys and investment advisers and others  
17 who she can direct to take care of her financial obligations  
18 to the Court and she can do that while she's awaiting the  
19 Bureau of Prisons' determining where she will be spending most  
20 of her time, at least initially.

21                  The application is denied. The Court is remanding  
22 the defendant to the custody of the Attorney General.

23                  MR. SULLIVAN: We'll make an oral note and submit  
24 appeal papers to follow.

25                  THE COURT: Yes.

1 PROBATION OFFICER: Probation would request that you  
2 read the special conditions of supervised release on the  
3 record.

4 THE COURT: Let me read the conditions of supervised  
5 release, the defendant's special conditions of supervised  
6 release.

7 The defendant shall comply with the fine and  
8 restitution orders. Upon request, the defendant shall provide  
9 U.S. Probation Department full disclosure of her financial  
10 records, including co-mingled income, expenses and assets, and  
11 liabilities, to include yearly income tax returns, with the  
12 exception of a financial accounts reported and noted within  
13 the presentence report. The defendant is prohibited from  
14 maintaining and/or opening any additional individual and/or  
15 joint checking, savings or other financial accounts for either  
16 personal or business purposes without the knowledge and  
17 approval of the U.S. Probation Department.

18 The defendant shall cooperate with the Probation  
19 Office in the investigation of her financial dealings. And  
20 she'll provide truthful monthly statements of her income and  
21 expenses. The defendant shall cooperate in the signing of any  
22 necessary authorization to the release the information  
23 permitting the U.S. Probation Department access to financial  
24 information and records.

25 The defendant shall not associate in person through

1 e-mail, through mail, electronic mail, telephone with any  
2 individual any affiliation through Executive Success Programs,  
3 Nxivm, DOS or any other affiliated Nxivm organizations. Nor  
4 shall the defendant frequent any establishment or locale where  
5 these groups may be, pursuant to but not limited to  
6 prohibition list provided by the U.S. Probation Department.

7 Defendant shall not contribute to the Bureau of  
8 Prisons commissary accounts of any co-defendants or  
9 participants in Executives Success Programs, Nxivm, DOS or any  
10 other Nxivm affiliated organizations.

11 I've already discussed the special assessment. All  
12 the standard conditions of supervision are included.

13 (Continued on next page.)

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1 (Continuing.)

2 THE COURT: Anything else from the probation  
3 officer?

4 PROBATION OFFICER: No, Your Honor.

5 THE COURT: And I'd like to thank the probation  
6 officer for her excellent work in providing the Court and the  
7 parties with the pre-sentence report and the addendum to the  
8 pre-sentence report.

9 MS. DANIZ: Thank you.

10 THE COURT: Anything further from the Government?

11 MS. HAJJAR: Just one matter, Your Honor.

12 The Government continues to receive restitution  
13 requests, some of which may or may not be directed at this  
14 particular defendant. So pursuant to 18 USC, 3664(d)(5),  
15 should there become a restitution request directed at the  
16 defendant, the Government will submit it to the Court with a  
17 submission in the event that the Court wishes to amend the  
18 judgment to add additional restitution.

19 THE COURT: Well, how long will this take? Because  
20 I'd like to -- I'm interested in closing the door on these  
21 defendants' cases and I don't want to keep the door open any  
22 longer than I absolutely have to.

23 MS. HAJJAR: If at all possible, for it to track  
24 with Ms. Bronfman's co-defendant, Keith Raniere, I suspect  
25 that many of the claims for restitution may be directed at one

1 or the other. The government wants to make sure the Court has  
2 all of these restitution requests and can then make that  
3 determination. So if that's possible to do, the government  
4 will provide those requests.

5 THE COURT: I think it's important for defense  
6 counsel to understand that we're going to close this out.

7 MS. HAJJAR: Yes, Your Honor.

8 THE COURT: And I'm sentencing Mr. Raniere on  
9 October 27th. So, I'll give you 90 days from October 27th to  
10 provide that information for both defendants.

11 MS. HAJJAR: Thank you, Your Honor.

12 THE COURT: And I'll only hold the matter open as to  
13 any additional terms of the judgment, restitution, until 90  
14 days from October 27th.

15 MS. HAJJAR: Yes, Your Honor. Thank you.

16 THE COURT: And then I also, as long as we're here,  
17 I'm interested in getting the other sentencing on the  
18 schedule. There are five other defendants, and I think that  
19 we need to move the matter along and resolve the sentencing of  
20 the other five defendants as well.

21 MS. HAJJAR: Okay.

22 THE COURT: Thank you very much.

23 Anything else from the defense?

24 MR. SULLIVAN: Nothing.

25 THE COURT: All right. Thank you very much,

1 everyone.

2 (Whereupon the proceedings adjourned.)

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\$	10/13 10/14 11/23 21/16 30/11 45/25 66/10 6/1 47/4 67/1 68/1 69/1 70/20 85/21 85/24 86/4 86/5 86/5 86/13 101/16 101/24 102/5 102/23 103/9 103/14 103/17 103/22 103/25 104/1 104/6 104/7 104/14 104/21 121/24 126/23 12's [6] 67/8 102/10 102/16 103/21 103/24 104/18 12-hour [1] 16/13 13 [1] 33/25 13-year-old [1] 54/23 1354 [1] 1/16 13th [1] 3/24 14 [4] 19/18 19/18 48/7 89/4 14 million [1] 51/1 14th [1] 4/4 15 [4] 89/4 89/16 96/17 123/23 15 months [1] 106/18 16 [8] 6/9 7/3 9/14 9/17 9/21 9/25 10/4 10/19 17 [4] 5/22 27/1 67/25 71/22 17-an-hour [1] 17/3 176 [1] 7/24 18 [8] 1/2 9/22 9/25 10/20 64/4 95/19 124/16 130/14 18,000 [2] 67/25 71/22 183 [1] 103/5 19 [6] 60/2 60/15 60/21 69/3 93/14 124/9 1995 [1] 34/6 1999 [2] 26/18 28/8 1:00 o'clock [1] 51/25 1:45 [2] 62/19 63/17	28th [2] 4/3 4/6 205 [1] 13/2 2B.1 [1] 9/8 2L1.1 [4] 6/1 7/6 7/11 8/6
3	30 [3] 77/19 115/22 126/25 30th [1] 1/5 3553 [14] 62/20 62/21 64/5 66/4 66/18 85/10 95/19 96/8 98/11 100/1 100/13 100/24 100/25 119/15 3571 [2] 124/17 124/18 3572 [1] 124/20 3664 [1] 130/14 3B1.1 [4] 6/5 7/12 8/7 8/10 3d [1] 7/24 3D1.4 [1] 9/17	
4	4's [1] 112/3 4,197 [1] 49/4 40 [4] 45/13 45/17 46/14 51/14 401K [1] 15/9 41-year-old [1] 67/12 440 [1] 1/18 45 [1] 34/11	
5	5-dollar [1] 15/10 50 [1] 82/21 50,000 [1] 49/14 56 [1] 57/24	
6	60 [2] 82/21 85/4 60 months [1] 93/17 6500 [1] 57/17 67 [3] 71/18 71/20 100/4	
7	712 [1] 1/16 796 [1] 7/24	
8	80 [1] 82/20 81 [1] 126/15	
9	90 [2] 131/9 131/13 92 [3] 64/14 64/20 64/22	
A	A F T E R N O O N [1] 64/1 abandoned [1] 45/4 abhorrent [1] 122/20 abide [1] 68/14 abiding [1] 68/13 ability [3] 20/19 124/23 125/5 able [8] 15/17 29/17 64/18 65/22 73/23 108/1 109/7 111/24 abnegated [1] 37/13 absolutely [11] 18/23 33/9 67/13 68/24 69/24 79/2 79/3 81/5 114/22 121/5 130/22 absorb [1] 46/6 abuse [10] 14/5 24/23 25/2 25/8 50/10 65/18 90/21 98/14 116/11 120/22 abuses [2] 15/12 17/17 abusive [1] 57/10 academic [2] 87/7 112/23 accent [1] 24/4 acceptance [2] 9/24 10/21 accepted [2] 38/12 92/22 access [6] 95/11 111/10 111/11 111/15 112/9 128/23	
1	1 million [1] 45/18 10 [1] 47/19 10,000 [1] 125/2 10,000-plus [1] 29/1 100 [3] 49/16 77/4 77/15 100 million [1] 127/12 10169 [1] 1/19 10th [1] 4/19 11 [8] 31/17 43/24 45/2 49/15 49/16 50/10 55/24 56/3 11 million-dollar [1] 57/18 11201 [2] 1/13 1/24 11:00 [1] 1/6 12 [42] 7/7 7/17 8/5 8/21 9/1 9/2 9/16	204 [1] 1/2 20s [2] 13/19 45/10 21 [2] 10/5 27/9 225 [2] 1/4 1/23 22nd [1] 4/5 230 [2] 1/18 43/6 24 [1] 45/14 24th [4] 3/25 69/14 83/2 83/4 25 [2] 92/1 124/1 26 [3] 68/9 68/17 103/6 260 [1] 29/7 27 [2] 10/5 27/15 271 [1] 1/12 27th [3] 131/9 131/9 131/14

A  
accommodate [2] 25/7 48/5  
accomplice [1] 110/12  
accomplish [2] 85/8 93/18  
according [6] 9/17 30/12 102/16 103/5  
109/4 112/13  
Accordingly [2] 8/22 95/15  
account [14] 4/23 6/17 18/12 48/3 76/2  
76/3 87/16 106/16 106/22 107/5 112/9  
122/11 125/22 126/17  
accountable [1] 18/9  
accounting [1] 48/16  
accounts [3] 128/12 128/15 129/8  
accuse [1] 50/20  
accused [3] 47/10 48/2 48/24  
accuses [1] 117/8  
accusing [1] 51/19  
achieve [1] 22/17  
achieved [1] 46/14  
achievement [1] 51/17  
acknowledge [3] 91/17 92/1 118/23  
acknowledged [1] 31/13  
ACOD [2] 32/6 32/6  
acquittal [1] 100/16  
acted [2] 8/8 119/1  
acting [1] 118/4  
action [2] 89/25 118/25  
actions [14] 32/4 39/11 40/13 65/16  
76/5 79/19 95/6 101/9 107/1 113/9  
119/20 120/18 123/1 123/1  
active [1] 8/17  
actively [1] 20/3  
activities [9] 30/24 30/25 31/7 41/20  
99/16 113/18 113/22 114/25 120/2  
activity [4] 6/8 99/7 99/13 100/16  
actual [2] 4/25 90/6  
acupuncturist [1] 78/13  
adamant [2] 113/10 118/3  
adamantly [1] 18/25  
add [2] 83/10 130/18  
added [2] 10/15 10/16  
addendum [4] 3/24 4/20 98/6 130/7  
addition [4] 17/21 64/15 97/25 124/19  
additional [11] 7/21 8/19 9/11 64/14  
64/17 67/25 97/22 124/21 128/14  
130/18 131/13  
Additionally [1] 106/20  
address [8] 14/7 17/14 18/8 19/11 35/25  
88/5 89/2 103/10  
addresses [1] 9/18  
adds [1] 29/22  
adduced [1] 100/9  
adequate [4] 91/9 98/2 101/5 103/15  
adhere [1] 109/23  
adherents [1] 120/20  
adjourned [1] 132/2  
adjusted [8] 9/2 9/14 9/16 9/16 9/21  
10/14 10/18 10/20  
adjustment [1] 10/20  
admissible [1] 100/19  
admits [1] 67/22  
admitted [2] 69/15 119/19  
admittedly [1] 26/24  
adopt [1] 82/22  
adopted [1] 55/2  
Adrian [2] 105/14 105/21  
advance [1] 21/1  
advancement [1] 97/5  
advantage [3] 106/7 121/24 122/6  
adversaries [2] 43/5 108/8  
adverse [1] 75/24  
advice [2] 74/16 74/25  
adviser [2] 47/13 48/21  
advisers [1] 127/16  
advisor [1] 53/23  
advisors [1] 98/3 103/1  
advisory [1] 95/15  
aesthetic [1] 57/15  
affairs [2] 55/23 127/9  
affected [3] 65/16 74/18 104/7  
affection [1] 38/20  
affiliated [3] 101/18 129/3 129/10  
affiliation [1] 129/2  
affirms [1] 5/15  
afford [5] 27/18 43/7 91/9 101/5 125/7  
afforded [1] 14/19  
afraid [2] 19/22 52/3  
Africa [1] 87/6  
afternoon [1] 104/6  
age [6] 31/8 45/2 45/14 45/17 51/13  
124/12  
agent [6] 1/20 2/7 30/6 52/1 112/14  
112/25  
aggravating [1] 101/9  
aggressive [1] 109/11  
aggressively [1] 116/21  
ago [3] 50/13 50/19 89/19  
agree [7] 7/2 8/20 9/7 22/16 77/11 99/13  
107/8  
agreed [1] 45/4  
agreement [9] 9/6 22/6 60/17 61/1  
101/23 102/25 103/16 103/25 126/25  
agrees [4] 6/10 6/12 6/22 6/24  
ahead [4] 64/12 73/16 77/23 94/14  
aided [2] 1/25 80/16  
aimed [1] 109/2  
aims [2] 107/21 107/23  
akin [1] 105/22  
alarming [1] 107/20  
Albany [10] 18/19 26/18 28/25 29/13  
35/16 36/12 42/15 42/16 42/20 48/11  
alcoholic [1] 44/24  
alien [2] 80/25 85/14  
aliens [6] 6/3 6/14 7/1 7/5 7/14 96/3  
alive [2] 33/2 33/13  
alleged [1] 49/20  
allegiance [2] 119/13 120/15  
allocuted [1] 82/10  
allow [4] 22/25 32/20 92/2 127/8  
allowed [3] 41/3 48/15 50/19  
allowing [3] 16/21 40/25 41/2  
allows [1] 75/17  
alluded [1] 89/18  
almost [6] 26/15 43/12 56/25 58/8 77/4  
113/15  
alone [8] 17/8 27/16 32/16 58/2 76/25  
95/25 97/8 109/24  
alter [1] 31/18  
amazing [1] 23/12  
ambiguous [1] 88/15  
amend [1] 130/17  
amended [2] 5/6 5/15  
amendment [1] 4/16  
AMERICA [1] 1/2  
American [1] 46/15  
amount [10] 9/10 33/11 61/4 122/10  
124/22 125/14 126/18 126/22 127/11  
127/13  
ample [1] 113/24  
amplify [1] 19/7  
amplifying [1] 17/17  
analysis [4] 96/8 99/20 100/1 100/3  
analyzing [1] 100/12  
ANGELICA [2] 1/21 4/13  
anger [1] 43/25  
angry [1] 43/25  
ankle [1] 94/9  
Ann [1] 45/21  
annual [4] 45/18 46/4 46/9 86/1  
Answer [1] 92/16  
answered [2] 81/5 103/11  
anxiety [1] 43/19  
anyway [1] 24/14  
apart [5] 21/2 30/16 38/24 40/21 58/14  
apologize [4] 64/10 82/25 94/10 94/24  
apologized [1] 119/19  
apologizes [1] 80/25  
apology [1] 67/9  
apparent [1] 30/12  
appeal [4] 127/1 127/4 127/5 127/24  
Appealed [1] 67/24  
Appeals [3] 28/15 28/16 127/2  
appear [2] 104/6 120/20  
appearance [1] 4/12  
appearances [2] 1/9 2/4  
applicable [2] 10/5 81/9  
application [4] 95/18 119/14 127/15  
127/21  
applies [3] 8/11 9/10 9/11  
apply [6] 7/8 7/13 8/2 8/5 8/6 15/10  
Applying [1] 125/23  
appointed [1] 47/20  
appreciate [1] 66/21  
appreciation [3] 63/5 78/7 126/4  
appropriate [14] 6/14 7/1 33/9 66/25  
68/23 69/6 74/9 79/9 99/20 100/19  
101/8 121/15 125/19 125/25  
appropriateness [1] 124/15  
approval [1] 128/17  
approve [2] 86/7 86/10  
April [1] 36/25  
April 2017 [1] 36/25  
area [1] 3/2  
areas [3] 24/25 69/10 71/11  
argued [1] 69/15  
argues [7] 5/24 6/4 89/5 101/7 112/17  
116/13 119/22  
arguing [3] 69/19 79/15 83/5  
argument [9] 22/15 66/9 70/6 87/25  
89/12 89/25 91/24 92/23 116/23  
arguments [4] 82/23 88/9 92/17 100/8  
arising [1] 56/22  
arraigned [1] 49/10  
arranging [1] 3/8  
arrest [6] 50/22 57/8 68/8 68/22 79/19  
119/7  
arrested [7] 12/6 20/25 35/20 47/7 49/7  
49/8 73/11  
arrests [1] 26/23  
arrived [1] 11/8  
arrives [1] 11/11  
article [3] 70/16 111/6 115/15  
ascribing [1] 4/1  
ashamed [3] 38/11 49/24 54/1  
aspect [3] 56/6 77/6 125/12  
aspects [5] 5/23 37/6 67/7 99/7 120/8  
aspiration [1] 45/9  
assassinated [2] 48/22 49/5  
assertion [1] 114/24  
assessment [2] 126/20 129/11  
asset [1] 112/24  
assets [3] 56/11 97/19 128/10  
assist [2] 30/1 55/23  
associate [4] 76/5 106/17 115/23 128/25  
associated [4] 72/21 108/2 113/14  
116/14  
associations [1] 35/3  
assumption [1] 115/2  
athlete [1] 67/14  
attachment [4] 47/2 111/17 111/18  
116/1  
attachments [1] 4/6  
attack [4] 12/24 13/5 35/19 111/3  
attacking [2] 114/3 121/10

**A**  
 attempt [6] 28/11 78/22 83/13 92/1  
 113/3 115/10  
 attempted [5] 28/5 88/2 88/4 107/14  
 110/1  
 attempting [3] 2/21 58/22 81/3  
 attempts [4] 28/12 84/14 112/1 126/5  
 attend [1] 20/24  
 attending [2] 16/8 21/2  
 attention [2] 53/12 70/10  
 attorney [17] 1/11 10/6 28/25 29/13  
 42/16 42/19 43/7 47/12 50/18 50/19  
 60/2 60/25 61/7 75/14 115/25 126/16  
 127/22  
 attorneys [14] 43/8 50/4 60/16 60/25  
 62/14 74/16 88/24 89/24 90/10 91/5  
 93/7 108/20 127/5 127/16  
 attributable [1] 102/14  
 August [1] 4/3  
 August 28th [1] 4/3  
 authored [1] 121/4  
 authorities [3] 59/13 59/17 120/9  
 authorization [1] 128/22  
 authorize [1] 82/13  
 authorizing [1] 107/10  
 autopsy [1] 30/12  
 available [2] 99/14 107/9  
 Avenue [1] 1/18  
 avers [1] 117/3  
 avert [1] 122/25  
 Aviv [1] 29/3  
 avoid [4] 61/21 82/6 106/25 124/2  
 avoidance [1] 61/23  
 awaiting [1] 127/18  
 award [1] 87/7  
 aware [15] 39/6 45/25 63/9 73/19 75/14  
 75/17 98/9 98/12 99/10 99/14 101/21  
 104/19 112/23 114/1 126/7  
 awareness [2] 39/17 115/4  
 awry [1] 75/7

**B**

baby [3] 61/20 62/15 87/8  
 baby-sitting [1] 87/8  
 babysitting [1] 17/1  
 background [1] 99/17  
 bad [5] 39/3 43/3 50/25 58/18 73/18  
 badly [1] 118/25  
 bail [1] 42/17  
 bailing [2] 77/9 77/9  
 bank [2] 36/13 106/16  
 banker [2] 48/13 51/7  
 bankroll [1] 17/10  
 bankruptcy [6] 28/9 30/10 31/14 43/4  
 43/5 49/18  
 Barbara [2] 44/13 57/25  
 barely [2] 32/1 101/19  
 barred [1] 53/2  
 bars [1] 33/13  
 base [8] 7/6 7/9 9/9 10/13 10/15 55/19  
 115/1 119/23  
 based [9] 7/16 9/20 66/24 85/5 88/9  
 89/25 95/17 114/20 116/20  
 basement [1] 28/22  
 basic [1] 22/11  
 basis [8] 61/10 65/20 76/14 78/13 80/12  
 93/14 93/15 125/5  
 battle [3] 28/9 33/1 33/1  
 BC [1] 43/11  
 beans [1] 41/19  
 bears [1] 17/12  
 beat [2] 36/25 46/15  
 beating [1] 37/1  
 became [10] 17/8 22/20 22/23 39/6

58/18 88/12 112/7 114/1 120/23 126/7  
 became [6] 20/1 25/17 79/20 109/5  
 114/4 130/15  
**becoming** [2] 56/23 104/16  
 beg [1] 87/12  
 began [5] 14/15 45/14 67/16 114/8  
 114/15  
 begging [1] 19/5  
 begin [4] 2/18 51/9 64/8 87/15  
 beginning [1] 88/8  
 begs [2] 67/7 67/8  
 begun [1] 115/9  
 behalf [3] 2/11 110/14 118/25  
 behavior [11] 40/12 57/1 90/22 92/21  
 107/20 107/22 113/4 116/12 116/20  
 119/12 126/18  
 behaviors [1] 40/14  
 behind [12] 17/12 23/23 33/13 41/16  
 46/19 53/14 58/22 62/13 65/22 79/2  
 79/7 80/22  
 belabor [1] 91/23  
 belied [2] 103/20 117/5  
 belief [1] 17/9  
 belonged [1] 118/24  
 belonging [2] 38/13 106/16  
 beloved [2] 17/24 59/14  
 below [3] 66/22 101/7 123/20  
 benchmark [1] 125/21  
 benefit [2] 15/9 62/1  
 benefited [3] 24/8 24/15 118/2  
 benefits [1] 15/8  
 beside [1] 121/11  
 best [3] 23/13 29/16 36/10  
 betray [1] 25/6  
 better [10] 24/2 31/1 40/2 40/5 40/16  
 44/17 68/1 117/18 120/17 121/11  
 between [10] 35/4 36/1 40/3 86/3 86/5  
 103/22 105/6 120/24 124/3 125/2  
 beyond [3] 20/19 98/2 105/8  
 bidding [1] 37/24  
 big [6] 20/11 29/14 46/22 71/24 72/9  
 72/9  
 biggest [1] 46/11  
 bill [5] 27/19 29/20 29/21 29/24 58/6  
 bills [3] 22/15 81/25 106/19  
 binding [1] 95/15  
 bitch [1] 51/6  
 black [1] 45/20  
 blank [1] 18/20  
 blind [5] 28/4 28/4 39/8 104/10 122/20  
 blindness [2] 120/1 122/22  
 blindspots [1] 39/7  
 blogs [2] 90/16 90/18  
 blow [1] 23/25  
 blue [1] 45/21  
 BM [1] 57/5  
 board [12] 14/18 31/13 47/15 47/20  
 47/22 48/2 50/2 70/21 74/12 89/8 89/14  
 96/23  
 boat [1] 92/24  
 body [3] 35/5 35/6 35/8  
 bogus [2] 21/12 31/20  
 bona [2] 75/2 75/23  
 bond [1] 127/13  
 bondage [1] 79/12  
 bone [1] 84/17  
 book [1] 28/2  
 bookkeeping [1] 107/5  
 border [1] 87/17  
 born [2] 44/19 54/25  
 borne [1] 58/24  
 borrowed [1] 92/14  
 boss [1] 56/4  
 Bouchey [5] 44/13 54/5 58/1 70/10 79/2  
 bought [3] 27/19 43/22 57/17

bound [1] 100/17  
 boy [1] 25/17 79/20 109/5  
 boyfriend [1] 24/21  
 bracelet [3] 68/11 94/6 94/9  
 brand [2] 98/24 118/18  
 branded [3] 98/20 98/23 118/17  
 branding [3] 70/3 70/7 88/17  
 Brandon [1] 16/9  
 bravo [1] 40/4  
 breach [5] 14/20 17/4 39/24 46/22 98/18  
 break [6] 3/15 3/17 3/18 3/20 16/7 58/8  
 breaking [2] 40/10 117/11  
 breakup [1] 49/1  
 breast [3] 34/9 34/12 37/2  
 breath [4] 29/14 30/2 32/1 46/8  
 bribed [1] 27/19  
 brief [4] 53/23 64/19 84/22 96/7  
 briefed [1] 82/19  
 briefly [4] 66/8 79/21 89/2 91/23  
 briefs [1] 66/10  
 bring [6] 31/25 32/23 75/8 75/15 76/18  
 120/10  
 bringing [1] 30/21  
 brings [1] 33/15  
 Brink [1] 33/21  
 Bristol [1] 51/15  
 broad [1] 95/22  
 broke [5] 23/24 35/6 36/11 40/10 46/20  
 broken [1] 32/5  
 broker [1] 48/3  
**BRONFMAN [210]**  
 Bronfman's [49] 3/23 7/18 10/3 13/16  
 71/14 85/7 87/9 91/22 98/10 99/21  
 101/11 101/22 104/3 104/5 105/7  
 105/20 106/12 106/15 107/15 107/20  
 108/10 108/23 109/18 111/2 111/10  
 111/11 111/25 112/1 112/4 112/6 113/9  
 115/1 115/4 116/11 119/13 119/15  
 120/14 120/21 121/22 122/1 122/5  
 122/13 122/23 124/6 124/12 124/23  
 125/6 126/1 130/24  
 Brooklyn [3] 1/4 1/13 1/24  
 brother [6] 30/11 30/11 30/13 30/16  
 105/14 105/22  
 brothers [3] 44/25 45/4 53/11  
 brought [10] 27/4 33/16 37/11 50/2  
 74/21 74/21 108/12 119/3 122/9 123/1  
 brutal [1] 116/10  
 build [1] 43/12  
 building [1] 43/22  
 built [3] 42/11 43/22 45/15  
 bulk [1] 74/6  
 burden [1] 124/24  
 burdensome [1] 22/17  
 Bureau [3] 2/8 127/19 129/7  
 burned [1] 23/7  
 business [8] 22/24 42/11 48/10 56/16  
 72/20 84/8 102/13 128/16  
 businesses [1] 26/14  
 buttresses [1] 121/8  
 buying [1] 30/10  
 bystander [1] 122/19

**C**

C-A-C-A-C-E [1] 7/24  
 Cacace [1] 7/24  
 cache [1] 4/25  
 Cadman [3] 1/4 1/12 1/23  
 cafeteria [1] 3/1  
 Cafritz [1] 61/3  
 Cafritz's [2] 61/7 61/9  
 calculable [1] 71/12  
 calculate [3] 5/21 10/2 10/5  
 calculated [1] 95/12  
 calculation [5] 5/4 5/19 5/24 6/15 9/6

**C**  
 calculations [2] 9/20 10/13  
 caliber [1] 49/22  
 callousness [1] 16/25  
 calories [1] 24/17  
 camera [2] 30/3 59/6  
 camp [1] 108/13  
 campaign [2] 46/20 116/10  
 Canada [2] 112/18 112/22  
 Canadian [1] 112/15  
 Canapro [2] 112/24 113/3  
 Canapro's [1] 112/18  
 Canaprobe [1] 112/15  
 cancel [1] 90/14  
**cancer** [9] 27/3 34/9 34/12 35/7 35/8  
 35/13 36/25 37/1 37/2  
 cannot [3] 14/12 24/3 117/1  
 capable [3] 55/8 76/23 77/2  
 capacity [2] 26/14 74/11  
 car [1] 58/3  
 card [8] 81/8 81/25 82/5 82/13 82/13  
 96/2 106/16 106/20  
**care** [9] 15/18 16/6 16/9 36/21 39/9  
 39/16 81/19 87/9 127/17  
**cared** [5] 16/21 38/15 39/18 78/22 78/24  
**career** [1] 45/14  
**carefully** [2] 46/19 100/7  
**cares** [1] 67/10  
**caring** [3] 16/13 30/20 103/19  
**case** [24] 12/23 16/12 25/3 31/11 31/11  
 42/25 50/7 54/15 64/23 65/24 66/11  
 67/1 74/21 74/21 82/19 84/6 84/23  
 85/14 93/6 95/23 95/24 96/2 96/3  
 125/24  
**cases** [5] 74/17 74/17 76/21 95/21  
 130/21  
**cash** [3] 56/13 57/6 71/15  
**categories** [2] 69/10 71/16  
**category** [7] 10/3 71/17 71/24 77/3 77/3  
 124/7 124/13  
**caused** [15] 14/23 37/19 38/3 38/5 38/25  
 39/19 40/19 40/22 54/22 57/22 61/15  
 67/4 75/8 84/16 95/1  
**Cavco** [1] 59/2  
**CCR** [1] 1/22  
**cease** [2] 90/10 90/13  
**cease-and-desist** [1] 90/10  
**cent** [1] 15/16  
**center** [4] 43/2 43/4 43/11 43/23  
**ceremony** [1] 119/6  
**certain** [5] 34/23 67/6 70/13 75/24 80/10  
**certainly** [8] 66/20 73/25 74/9 76/18  
 76/20 77/13 78/6 78/25  
**cetera** [1] 22/12  
**chain** [1] 117/2  
**chair** [1] 51/14  
**chaired** [1] 46/2  
**challenge** [1] 110/4  
**challenges** [1] 5/23  
**chance** [3] 15/1 17/6 73/21  
**change** [2] 74/6 92/5  
**changed** [3] 120/17 121/1 121/11  
**changes** [1] 10/23  
**Chapter** [2] 49/15 49/16  
**character** [8] 4/1 4/2 48/22 49/4 50/14  
 77/25 78/15 78/21  
**characteristic** [1] 10/16  
**characteristics** [3] 85/12 101/2 126/4  
**characterization** [3] 8/20 103/20 112/6  
**characterize** [1] 91/22  
**characterized** [1] 118/1  
**characterizes** [1] 107/1  
**characterizing** [1] 24/7  
**charged** [8] 7/16 8/3 30/25 88/2 89/8

89/11 106/15 106/20  
**charges** [14] 12/7 27/4 28/4 43/2  
 42/21 42/25 57/1 66/11 88/25 90/23  
 108/16 119/3 120/10 122/8  
**charismatic** [1] 77/13  
**charter** [1] 80/17  
**chastened** [1] 123/5  
**check** [6] 4/7 71/15 75/24 86/7 86/8  
 92/24  
**checkbook** [1] 41/5  
**checking** [2] 55/21 128/15  
**checks** [1] 106/21  
**chemotherapy** [1] 37/1  
**child** [14] 17/2 32/7 32/23 32/25 54/24  
 55/20 56/8 58/12 60/3 60/17 60/18 61/1  
 61/5 91/16  
**childcare** [2] 56/7 57/5  
**childhood** [1] 33/1  
**children** [4] 13/8 27/2 84/13 87/9  
**choice** [5] 38/5 59/12 59/24 119/17  
 119/19  
**choices** [3] 37/11 39/3 94/22  
**chose** [5] 36/10 39/4 115/11 119/18  
 122/25  
**chosen** [1] 26/4  
**Christmas** [2] 46/9 49/10  
**chunk** [1] 71/24  
**CIA** [1] 29/4  
**circle** [4] 14/6 42/23 53/5 70/12  
**Circuit** [5] 7/25 95/16 95/20 100/20  
 127/2  
**Circuit's** [1] 125/20  
**circumstances** [10] 95/23 101/1 103/18  
 121/21 122/14 122/18 123/17 124/8  
 125/17 126/1  
**citing** [1] 17/2  
**civil** [3] 31/9 31/11 31/11  
**civilly** [1] 75/3  
**claim** [6] 31/25 41/24 56/10 61/21 76/5  
 81/18  
**claimed** [5] 13/3 43/6 76/12 77/21 80/15  
**claiming** [3] 18/6 30/6 57/9  
**claims** [8] 17/10 30/23 43/6 71/8 78/3  
 81/16 119/25 130/25  
**Claire** [5] 87/18 88/20 89/5 92/9 92/25  
**CLARE** [161]  
**Clare's** [15] 19/7 20/4 33/8 55/3 57/10  
 57/20 58/15 58/25 61/22 73/3 73/22  
 78/16 78/20 79/19 80/20  
**clarified** [1] 75/5  
**clarify** [2] 75/4 76/8  
**class** [1] 40/9  
**claws** [1] 44/1  
**cleaning** [1] 87/9  
**clear** [13] 7/22 21/1 37/22 88/19 90/8  
 99/5 102/10 106/4 109/6 109/25 113/12  
 121/13 125/25  
**cleared** [1] 52/1  
**clearer** [1] 92/4  
**clearly** [6] 32/3 77/5 79/11 110/6 115/11  
 119/19  
**clerk** [1] 3/7  
**clicking** [1] 111/22  
**client** [10] 46/9 76/4 77/9 89/21 89/23  
 90/4 90/9 90/17 117/4 117/7  
**clients** [2] 48/19 49/5  
**Clifton** [2] 59/12 62/13  
**Clifton Park** [2] 59/12 62/13  
**close** [6] 34/22 58/24 99/23 106/17  
 123/2 131/6  
**closed** [3] 43/2 50/6 84/10  
**closely** [1] 55/24  
**closing** [2] 33/17 130/20  
**cloth** [1] 78/10  
**Club** [1] 20/18

**C**

computer [9] 1/25 27/16 31/15 59/2 111/5 111/14 111/22 111/23 117/11

Computer-Aided [1] 1/25

computers [1] 89/21

conceal [4] 7/4 7/20 9/1 53/5

concealed [1] 97/10

concealment [1] 112/25

conceded [1] 119/20

concedes [1] 112/23

concern [3] 105/7 117/4 123/8

concerned [2] 118/20 121/9

concerning [2] 7/16 91/10

concerns [4] 12/18 75/13 106/15 113/8

concluded [1] 114/21

conclusion [3] 83/11 121/8 126/8

concurred [1] 55/5

concurrently [2] 123/25 126/22

condition [1] 124/12

conditions [4] 128/2 128/4 128/5 129/12

conduct [29] 3/4 7/16 8/3 8/25 29/1 57/20 86/13 87/16 89/3 91/17 92/23 93/10 101/11 105/1 106/15 106/15 106/23 107/15 112/7 122/1 122/20 123/10 124/4 124/6 124/14 125/10 125/10 125/15 126/2

conference [1] 90/15

confess [2] 59/5 59/6

confessions [2] 88/18 97/20

confidential [1] 29/2

confined [1] 98/19

confinement [1] 29/17

confront [1] 122/25

confronted [3] 113/9 113/25 114/6

confusion [1] 54/16

connected [2] 90/11 117/8

connection [4] 64/4 64/23 88/4 99/22

connections [4] 12/4 108/11 110/1 122/8

conned [1] 53/17

conscience [1] 58/16

consecutively [1] 123/25

consented [1] 126/25

consequence [1] 61/22

consequences [3] 93/10 106/11 117/19

consider [19] 7/22 8/1 19/8 38/16 62/22 68/5 78/4 85/9 86/12 91/8 93/3 99/24 100/14 100/15 100/25 115/4 122/12 123/3 124/21

considerable [1] 107/25

consideration [7] 33/20 64/6 68/18 68/21 69/1 69/5 107/24

considered [19] 5/13 8/16 14/10 40/18 41/8 100/8 100/9 105/21 106/13 111/8 112/10 121/16 123/13 123/16 123/20 123/22 124/2 124/9 124/15

considering [2] 100/3 100/19

considers [2] 67/4 114/23

consistent [6] 103/15 106/23 107/13 107/21 113/5 120/17

consistently [1] 108/5

conspiracies [2] 7/20 66/13

conspiracy [8] 7/4 8/25 58/23 99/3 99/3 99/3 99/4 117/11

conspire [1] 53/4

conspired [1] 61/17

constant [1] 35/5

constantly [1] 46/3

consult [1] 127/4

consultant [4] 21/24 85/22 101/17 105/3

contact [2] 98/20 108/20

contacted [1] 89/22

containing [3] 111/13 115/17 116/1

contemporaneous [1] 109/3

content [1] 103/14

context [5] 81/4 82/1 86/1 82/1 96/5 96/7 98/11 99/20 99/25 106/14 107/19 107/24 123/18 124/5 125/10

contingent [1] 23/15

continue [10] 12/24 12/24 18/17 22/16 31/19 81/14 83/12 84/12 91/20 102/22

continued [14] 25/11 28/15 42/12 52/8 63/19 73/9 81/25 82/13 86/18 110/15 114/19 117/24 120/21 129/13

continues [7] 56/17 59/25 61/4 91/11 117/22 123/8 130/12

continuing [7] 26/1 53/1 57/25 87/1 111/1 120/12 130/1

contract [2] 22/1 23/24

contractor [1] 22/2

contractually [1] 102/7

contradicted [1] 90/1

contradicts [1] 119/24

contrary [3] 96/4 102/18 119/1

contribute [1] 129/7

contributed [1] 119/10

control [4] 29/11 56/6 57/2 57/21

controlled [1] 27/14

controlling [1] 108/6

conversation [2] 27/10 121/3

conversations [1] 90/15

convey [1] 65/22

convicted [8] 14/13 91/15 99/2 99/5 99/6 123/9 124/4 124/7

conviction [17] 6/2 6/6 7/7 7/16 8/13 8/21 9/15 9/18 95/25 101/11 106/12 108/19 120/22 120/24 121/19 122/7 123/15

convince [1] 120/9

convinced [4] 20/6 20/7 54/25 55/3

cooperate [2] 128/18 128/21

cooperated [1] 59/18

copies [1] 92/10

copy [1] 95/9

core [2] 78/16 84/18

corporate [5] 77/12 77/16 77/17 93/1 117/12

correct [6] 4/18 6/9 25/4 80/7 92/15 92/16

correspondence [2] 101/20 103/22

corroborate [1] 109/10

corrupt [2] 48/13 51/7

corrupted [1] 78/19

cost [9] 12/10 24/25 29/15 43/9 87/22 104/13 104/13 119/13 124/25

costs [1] 19/2

counsel [18] 2/4 3/21 64/4 67/2 74/25 76/19 77/8 86/2 88/6 89/18 91/21 92/5 92/6 100/23 116/19 117/2 117/3 131/6

counsel's [2] 87/24 92/23

counseled [1] 75/7

counseling [1] 76/24

counsels' [1] 100/8

count [26] 6/2 6/6 7/3 7/16 9/2 9/3 9/3 9/7 9/14 10/13 10/14 10/19 24/17 68/20 87/25 87/25 101/12 106/12 107/19 121/19 122/1 123/23 123/24 124/19 126/21 126/23

countless [1] 14/9

country [1] 81/4

counts [6] 9/15 9/18 27/16 29/7 99/4 100/15

couple [4] 40/12 40/23 54/13 89/18

course [9] 15/23 23/12 37/8 63/13 76/24 77/21 80/23 108/4 109/16

Court's [1] 67/8

courthouse [4] 1/3 3/5 26/12 63/8

courtroom [5] 2/21 11/15 26/8 51/1 104/8

courtrooms [1] 2/24

courts [2] 30/20 76/13

cover [2] 44/16 115/5

covered [1] 72/6

COVID [7] 60/2 60/15 60/21 69/3 84/9 93/14 124/9

COVID-19 [6] 60/2 60/15 60/21 69/3 93/14 124/9

CPTSD [1] 32/15

CR [1] 1/2

crack [1] 27/25

craft [1] 50/15

crap [1] 52/2

craved [1] 14/3

crazy [1] 27/7

create [1] 35/12

created [5] 28/24 78/10 86/17 96/23 114/20

creates [1] 98/8

creator [2] 23/11 116/4

credible [1] 120/5

credibly [1] 112/3

credit [10] 15/10 36/13 81/8 81/25 82/5 82/13 82/13 96/2 106/16 106/20

creditors [1] 30/10

crew [1] 59/5

crime [9] 59/1 61/23 62/3 88/4 89/20 107/2 107/18 107/19 117/10

crimes [25] 18/10 44/7 55/9 59/5 66/13 90/13 91/2 91/14 93/7 95/25 96/4 96/6 99/6 99/8 99/21 100/15 107/20 110/8 110/11 117/11 121/20 122/20 123/4 123/6 123/11

criminal [34] 1/7 2/2 6/8 10/3 12/11 12/16 14/13 21/13 26/5 29/7 31/20 32/1 41/16 41/18 49/7 49/13 57/11 67/13 68/7 88/25 90/11 90/23 100/16 108/12 108/16 113/21 116/20 117/9 117/11 117/12 119/3 120/10 122/8 124/6

criminally [1] 89/11

criminals [1] 122/17

crippled [1] 17/22

critic [1] 108/13

critics [6] 108/8 108/24 109/5 109/12 114/3 122/9

cross [1] 83/20

cruel [1] 16/5

cruelty [2] 15/13 109/21

crushed [1] 61/14

crystal [2] 37/22 99/5

crystal-clear [1] 99/5

culpability [1] 89/13

cult [11] 27/10 27/14 28/18 29/4 31/2 56/23 69/24 79/18 111/7 113/23 114/7

cultivated [1] 122/23

culture [3] 110/5 110/6 110/7

curriculum [2] 15/11 15/20

curtain [2] 79/3 79/7

curtains [1] 23/23

custodial [4] 85/11 123/16 123/19 124/14

custody [3] 10/6 126/15 127/22

**D**

D-O-S [1] 96/24

dad [2] 27/9 32/22

daily [1] 65/20

damage [7] 19/3 33/14 37/18 38/5 50/25 108/14 116/22

damages [2] 17/20 62/3

damaging [3] 50/23 97/20 101/14

dangerous [3] 37/24 57/14 122/17

dangers [1] 28/18

dangling [1] 85/18

Daniella [1] 58/19

D  
DANIZ [2] 1/21 4/13  
dared [1] 110/3  
dark [2] 48/13 66/1  
darkest [1] 110/7  
darkness [1] 38/6  
date [2] 79/5 119/9  
dated [7] 3/24 3/25 4/4 4/5 4/19 47/19  
78/5  
daughter [2] 80/5 109/19  
days [10] 19/16 27/9 35/13 35/15 49/4  
78/5 79/14 126/25 131/9 131/14  
DC [1] 1/17  
de [1] 14/17  
dead [1] 26/19  
deal [4] 3/19 29/16 30/17 61/13  
dealings [1] 128/19  
deals [1] 65/19  
dear [1] 82/18  
death [2] 27/17 106/19  
debate [1] 112/22  
debt [1] 14/23  
decade [1] 43/12  
decades [5] 26/15 31/2 42/12 51/11  
91/20  
deceased [3] 106/17 107/2 107/11  
deceased's [3] 106/20 106/22 107/5  
December [5] 3/24 24/5 102/5 117/25  
118/1  
December 13th [1] 3/24  
December 2015 [1] 102/5  
December 2017 [2] 117/25 118/21  
decide [2] 39/20 48/25  
decided [2] 30/17 33/25  
decides [1] 68/14  
deciding [1] 69/5  
decision [4] 14/17 62/25 69/6 126/6  
decision-maker [1] 14/17  
decisions [3] 83/16 83/17 83/17  
decline [2] 7/13 8/1  
declined [4] 8/6 29/20 31/4 31/17  
deeds [1] 57/3  
deep [7] 36/20 40/11 46/8 54/3 67/3  
67/3 78/20  
deeper [2] 40/2 40/5  
deeply [13] 34/3 38/15 39/9 67/7 67/7  
67/10 78/23 78/24 83/19 84/16 84/18  
94/22 116/12  
defamation [1] 29/9  
defame [1] 50/20  
defaming [1] 51/20  
defecting [1] 15/2  
defend [2] 32/4 43/21  
defendant [48] 1/5 1/15 7/19 8/11 8/16  
62/24 64/21 85/13 85/23 86/3 86/5 86/7  
86/12 87/5 87/13 87/22 88/1 88/3 88/10  
88/13 88/24 89/14 90/2 90/22 91/13  
91/17 91/19 92/25 93/7 93/13 93/15  
98/8 100/23 122/9 126/11 127/7 127/22  
128/7 128/8 128/13 128/18 128/21  
128/25 129/4 129/7 130/14 130/16  
130/24  
defendant's [18] 3/4 3/25 4/2 4/4 7/23  
65/2 85/7 87/10 87/16 88/7 89/2 89/16  
91/25 92/4 92/21 93/13 101/2 128/5  
defendants [8] 119/12 124/3 124/7  
125/11 129/8 131/10 131/18 131/20  
defendants' [2] 119/9 130/21  
defending [2] 18/21 18/22  
defense [17] 4/5 4/8 4/17 5/8 10/10  
12/11 18/5 62/20 64/8 86/2 87/24 91/12  
92/11 119/2 119/7 131/5 131/23  
defining [1] 53/20  
deflating [1] 55/16  
defy [1] 124/8  
degrade [1] 49/24  
delay [1] 22/19  
deliberately [1] 61/17  
delighted [1] 69/13  
deliver [2] 93/9 101/22  
demanded [1] 103/25  
Demanding [1] 16/1  
demonstrable [1] 71/16  
demonstrate [1] 105/7  
demonstrates [2] 16/25 18/15  
demoted [1] 57/23  
denied [2] 127/15 127/21  
denies [1] 107/6  
denounce [2] 42/1 42/1  
denounces [2] 69/22 69/25  
Department [11] 5/7 5/21 6/12 6/24 7/17  
9/5 12/6 128/9 128/17 128/23 129/6  
Department's [1] 5/24  
departure [1] 91/7  
dependent [3] 37/4 87/3 87/3  
deposit [1] 119/8  
deprecating [1] 34/15  
depriving [1] 61/23  
deputy [1] 11/15  
descending [1] 57/13  
describe [1] 117/16  
described [3] 7/17 88/16 120/18  
describes [1] 118/17  
describing [1] 97/13  
description [1] 96/7  
descriptors [1] 109/2  
deserve [2] 51/16 102/12  
deserved [1] 14/3  
deserving [2] 60/18 60/19  
designed [1] 117/6  
desire [5] 20/10 78/14 78/18 82/10 84/3  
desist [2] 90/10 90/14  
desperate [4] 28/18 30/8 30/14 86/6  
desperately [1] 14/2  
despite [5] 56/15 56/15 56/18 102/17  
105/5  
destroy [4] 13/5 26/7 41/6 58/23  
destroyed [5] 26/12 32/17 40/25 48/20  
88/20  
destroying [1] 30/15  
destruction [8] 22/24 28/2 37/6 37/18  
38/3 42/5 88/14 114/16  
destructive [1] 33/16  
detail [2] 30/14 91/14  
details [3] 91/13 119/16 120/22  
deter [1] 122/24  
determination [2] 125/22 131/3  
determine [1] 95/17  
determined [2] 10/1 45/1  
determining [8] 7/23 8/2 100/17 100/19  
121/15 124/21 125/19 127/19  
deterrence [4] 91/10 93/4 93/6 101/6  
deterrent [1] 122/13  
detractors [3] 108/8 108/25 110/13  
devastating [3] 21/11 65/19 88/18  
develop [1] 15/21  
developed [1] 98/16  
developing [1] 23/1  
devote [1] 122/15  
devouring [1] 50/21  
diabolical [1] 81/13  
diagnosed [2] 32/14 34/8  
die [4] 35/4 35/9 35/20 36/9  
died [9] 27/1 27/9 30/17 35/7 44/23 59/6  
59/7 60/24 61/3  
difference [2] 17/4 40/3  
different [13] 20/23 22/10 22/13 22/15  
28/1 28/1 28/3 32/22 47/25 78/6 92/20  
112/19 124/7  
difficult [9] 24/4 32/10 32/17 54/20 63/3  
91/2 93/3 102/11 102/20  
difficulties [2] 97/3 102/14  
diligence [1] 82/12  
diligent [1] 68/12  
dime [1] 71/14  
dire [1] 101/23  
direct [5] 8/25 18/11 56/4 104/18 127/17  
directed [12] 53/4 70/10 70/13 70/18  
70/20 79/6 79/6 97/25 104/6 130/13  
130/15 130/25  
direction [1] 114/18  
directly [9] 14/7 37/5 60/2 60/16 69/9  
97/11 98/13 99/15 99/19  
director [1] 48/15  
disavow [1] 37/19  
disbursements [1] 106/22  
discharge [1] 28/10  
disclose [1] 69/16  
disclosed [1] 83/6  
disclosing [1] 97/17  
disclosure [1] 128/9  
discreet [1] 29/2  
discuss [8] 31/4 63/7 63/10 63/13 66/24  
96/20 98/10 113/17  
discussed [1] 129/11  
discusses [1] 89/17  
discussing [1] 121/3  
discussion [2] 66/5 98/7  
disempower [1] 58/11  
dishonest [2] 101/13 101/14  
dishonesty [1] 121/22  
disingenuous [1] 116/12  
disjointed [1] 33/7  
dismissive [1] 112/6  
disobeyed [1] 45/2  
disobeying [1] 14/21  
disorder [1] 84/6  
disparities [1] 124/3  
disposal [1] 122/16  
dispute [6] 79/20 88/10 88/11 112/2  
112/7 112/8  
disputed [1] 103/13  
disputes [2] 99/9 99/12  
disrupt [1] 59/22  
dissatisfaction [1] 97/4  
dissenters [1] 110/5  
distance [2] 32/18 115/10  
distancing [3] 2/20 2/25 3/2  
distinct [1] 71/11  
distorted [2] 55/14 84/1  
distress [1] 55/16  
distributions [2] 56/13 56/17  
district [10] 1/1 1/1 1/8 1/12 3/7 28/16  
31/1 47/12 59/19 100/14  
dive [1] 40/11  
diversion [1] 72/14  
divorced [1] 99/24  
doctor [2] 74/2 86/10  
doctoring [1] 74/2  
doctors [1] 36/10  
document [4] 92/15 116/1 116/3 116/4  
documentary [2] 73/22 113/1  
Doe [54] 7/17 8/5 8/21 9/1 19/18 19/18  
19/21 21/15 21/16 66/10 67/1 67/4 67/5  
67/8 80/24 81/3 85/20 85/21 85/24 86/4  
86/5 86/5 86/13 101/15 101/19 101/24  
102/5 102/10 102/16 102/23 103/8  
103/14 103/17 103/21 103/22 103/24  
103/25 104/1 104/6 104/7 104/14  
104/18 104/21 111/9 111/15 111/15  
111/22 111/24 112/3 120/24 120/24  
121/3 121/24 126/23  
Doe's [2] 102/15 102/21  
dog [3] 32/16 32/20 32/21

**D**  
dogma [1] 110/4  
dogs [1] 87/9  
DOJ [1] 42/13  
dollar [2] 15/10 57/18  
dollars [9] 16/3 17/15 41/6 57/17 59/1  
71/23 71/23 96/13 113/3  
done [13] 17/7 18/4 18/16 19/3 40/14  
48/25 73/25 75/3 75/25 82/2 82/11  
108/15 120/13  
Dones [1] 38/8  
door [5] 28/23 32/19 53/3 130/20  
130/21  
Dorsey [1] 61/7  
**DOS [102]** 19/24 21/10 24/7 35/14 35/15  
41/4 69/15 69/16 69/18 69/20 70/5 70/5  
70/6 70/7 70/14 71/3 71/14 79/12 83/5  
83/6 83/7 88/7 88/9 88/12 88/13 88/18  
88/23 89/1 89/17 90/2 91/13 92/24  
92/25 96/24 96/25 97/5 97/7 97/9 97/12  
97/12 97/14 97/21 97/25 98/7 98/9  
98/10 98/13 98/14 98/16 98/20 98/22  
98/23 99/10 99/12 99/15 99/16 99/18  
104/15 104/19 104/24 106/2 106/2  
113/10 113/11 113/17 113/18 113/19  
113/25 114/4 114/6 114/6 114/8 114/14  
114/18 114/19 115/2 115/5 115/13  
115/15 115/17 115/24 116/4 116/7  
117/15 117/19 117/20 118/1 118/5  
118/8 118/11 118/14 118/16 118/16  
119/5 119/16 119/23 120/3 121/4  
121/12 126/7 129/3 129/9  
**DOS's [1]** 114/25  
**DOS/Keith [1]** 21/10  
**dossier [2]** 28/23 29/6  
dot [1] 83/20  
double [3] 4/7 52/1 115/11  
double-check [1] 4/7  
doubled [1] 114/1  
doubt [2] 98/3 123/7  
down [15] 11/20 16/2 35/6 37/12 42/13  
46/5 46/8 62/10 84/10 84/10 84/17  
98/23 108/14 114/1 115/11  
**downplay [1]** 112/1  
Dr. [1] 16/9  
**Dr. Brandon [1]** 16/9  
**draft [3]** 115/17 115/24 118/14  
**drafted [2]** 88/23 90/1  
**drafts [1]** 116/5  
dragged [1] 48/7  
**draw [5]** 70/9 75/18 75/19 76/14 83/1  
**dream [2]** 45/8 46/15  
**Dreyer [2]** 27/18 29/21  
**drink [1]** 30/19  
**drive [1]** 111/21  
**driving [1]** 39/4  
**dropped [1]** 100/15  
**drugs [1]** 30/19  
**DUCHARME [1]** 1/11  
**due [4]** 43/4 61/2 82/12 126/20  
**DUNCAN [2]** 1/19 2/11  
**duress [1]** 57/22  
**during [8]** 16/7 19/14 22/3 31/13 114/20  
119/5 120/22 124/14  
**duty [1]** 116/16  
**dying [1]** 27/2  
**dynamic [1]** 22/13

**E**

**e-mail [17]** 90/24 101/20 103/21 108/9  
108/17 111/10 111/13 111/15 111/25  
112/9 114/14 115/15 115/23 115/24  
115/25 116/2 129/1  
**e-mailed [7]** 101/24 102/6 102/23 103/8

105/4 108/25 115/22  
e-mails [17] 36/1 37/2 86/10 88/5 90/14  
88/10 105/6 111/1 111/11 111/18 111/20  
114/24 115/3 116/6 117/14 121/13  
**E-x-o-E-s-o [1]** 101/18  
**eagerly [1]** 59/18  
**early [3]** 13/19 15/5 45/10  
**earn [6]** 22/5 34/19 87/14 87/21 103/11  
105/2  
**earned [7]** 14/3 15/5 22/8 51/13 51/16  
86/8 87/8  
**earning [1]** 72/9  
**earnings [1]** 77/17  
**earth [1]** 30/4  
**ease [1]** 30/18  
**easily [1]** 59/17  
**East [3]** 1/4 1/12 1/23  
**EASTERN [3]** 1/1 1/12 59/19  
**Eastern District [1]** 59/19  
**easy [1]** 124/8  
**eat [1]** 84/13  
**ECF [1]** 95/9  
**economically [1]** 20/22  
**ed [1]** 121/4  
**Edgar [4]** 28/17 55/3 59/7 111/5  
**Edgar's [1]** 59/3  
**Edmondson [7]** 11/21 11/23 88/25 90/20  
114/6 118/17 119/3  
**educate [1]** 84/13  
**effect [4]** 51/23 75/24 77/9 122/2  
**effected [1]** 39/12  
**effects [1]** 40/4  
**effort [6]** 2/19 21/8 76/4 106/25 107/7  
110/12  
**efforts [9]** 43/13 89/17 91/1 107/16  
108/23 109/11 113/6 120/12 122/2  
**egregious [1]** 101/12  
**eight [8]** 9/9 10/15 28/9 42/6 44/23 48/7  
48/8 50/3  
**eight-and-a-half [1]** 28/9  
**eight-level [1]** 9/9  
**either [7]** 7/8 99/10 119/24 121/14  
122/25 123/24 128/15  
**electronic [1]** 129/1  
**element [1]** 6/15  
**emails [1]** 59/2  
**embezzling [1]** 57/6  
**emergency [2]** 15/23 86/9  
**emotional [6]** 24/23 36/20 61/15 65/17  
104/12 106/9  
**emotionally [2]** 25/1 104/1  
**employee [2]** 15/6 84/11  
**employment [7]** 86/17 87/19 101/23  
102/13 103/16 103/18 103/25  
**empowerment [1]** 97/13  
**empowers [1]** 25/3  
**empty [1]** 39/14  
**enabled [1]** 71/8  
**enablers [1]** 17/8  
**enacted [1]** 15/12  
**encompass [2]** 50/10 95/25  
**encompassed [1]** 8/4  
**encountered [1]** 78/12  
**encounters [1]** 24/20  
**encourage [1]** 51/21  
**encouraged [1]** 22/10  
**end [45]** 6/3 6/8 8/13 8/16 11/16 11/17  
26/22 27/13 40/14 43/18 44/7 57/12  
58/17 70/12 74/4 96/16 98/1 98/9 98/18  
98/25 101/10 101/17 101/25 102/3  
102/15 102/18 102/25 103/9 103/11  
103/19 103/20 104/16 104/17 105/5  
105/8 105/17 105/20 105/22 108/15  
108/16 109/15 109/18 109/21 114/21  
126/16

endeavor [1] 73/24  
endeavors [2] 156/5 108/2 113/14  
**ended [2]** 40/20 111/21  
**endured [3]** 48/11 49/3 102/14  
**enemies [9]** 19/9 30/4 111/3 112/13  
112/16 113/4 113/7 121/10 126/6  
**enemy [4]** 28/21 111/8 112/11 120/10  
**engaged [3]** 99/11 107/7 117/3  
**engaging [2]** 57/3 68/11  
**engine [1]** 109/21  
**enhancement [15]** 6/11 6/13 6/20 6/23  
6/25 7/10 7/11 7/13 8/3 8/5 8/7 8/11  
8/17 9/10 9/11  
**enhancements [1]** 7/9  
**enjoyed [1]** 38/24  
**enormous [2]** 56/9 61/15  
**enroll [1]** 102/19  
**enrolling [1]** 96/15  
**enrollment [1]** 23/10  
**ensured [1]** 116/25  
**enter [2]** 60/16 126/23  
**entered [1]** 43/5  
**entering [2]** 45/25 117/11  
**enterprise [5]** 26/5 41/16 41/18 73/19  
117/12  
**entire [11]** 3/7 11/23 12/9 12/12 15/22  
18/21 48/5 49/9 50/4 50/21 117/2  
**entirety [1]** 107/2  
**entitled [5]** 9/23 22/7 23/3 34/20 100/21  
**entity [5]** 77/16 77/18 80/14 92/20 93/1  
**environment [1]** 56/25  
**EPS's [1]** 15/11  
**equitable [2]** 68/18 68/21  
**equivalent [1]** 29/3  
**eradicate [1]** 97/14  
**erected [1]** 81/20  
**ESF [1]** 92/18  
**ESO [11]** 21/17 21/20 21/25 22/3 23/2  
23/10 101/18 102/6 102/14 102/20  
105/3  
**ESP [11]** 13/18 15/3 24/1 33/25 34/2  
34/18 35/4 35/7 36/11 37/4 37/14  
**especially [5]** 14/5 38/18 62/14 62/15  
91/10  
**espionage [1]** 117/12  
**ESQ [4]** 1/13 1/14 1/16 1/19  
**essentially [1]** 70/21  
**establish [2]** 2/19 99/14  
**established [3]** 2/24 61/25 95/14  
**establishes [3]** 112/4 113/1 113/17  
**establishment [1]** 129/4  
**estate [6]** 61/6 61/7 61/8 61/10 61/18  
107/3  
**esteem [3]** 23/8 25/1 34/19  
**et [1]** 22/12  
**ethical [16]** 14/20 17/4 22/16 39/23  
45/16 46/22 47/13 49/20 49/20 68/1  
73/20 74/7 75/14 77/19 84/4 98/18  
**ethics [1]** 27/21  
**evasion [2]** 88/2 88/4  
**Eve [1]** 49/10  
**event [4]** 46/2 46/11 51/15 130/17  
**events [1]** 117/2  
**eventually [3]** 39/25 56/21 104/14  
**evidence [26]** 7/18 7/23 14/9 43/15 50/6  
75/20 88/10 89/20 99/14 99/19 100/11  
100/15 100/17 100/19 101/10 103/23  
104/19 104/25 107/9 107/12 107/15  
108/4 112/5 113/17 113/20 113/24  
**evidenced [1]** 111/3  
**evil [5]** 33/14 37/9 48/13 51/7 55/8  
**exacerbated [1]** 106/8  
**exacted [2]** 106/6 126/1  
**exacting [1]** 110/3  
**exactly [1]** 24/19

**E**  
Case 1:18-cr-00204-NCG Document 964 Filed 10/23/20 Page 140 of 154 PageID #: 964  
example [13] 78/13 87/5 98/15 101/24  
108/9 108/25 113/5 113/17 115/13  
118/16 120/8 120/23 122/7  
exceeds [1] 9/10  
excellent [1] 130/6  
exception [1] 128/12  
exceptional [1] 15/13  
excess [1] 31/24  
excessive [1] 125/3  
exchanged [1] 83/1  
exclusive [1] 20/17  
excuse [5] 25/2 36/2 46/5 46/25 56/7  
excuses [1] 67/9  
execution [1] 122/6  
executive [9] 3/7 14/17 31/13 47/15 89/8  
89/13 96/11 96/23 129/2  
Executives [1] 129/9  
exerted [1] 110/9  
exhausted [1] 32/5  
exhaustive [1] 56/22  
Exhibit [3] 86/14 90/7 90/25  
exhibited [1] 58/16  
exhibits [1] 85/6  
exist [3] 42/2 80/18 96/5  
existed [1] 26/6  
existence [3] 88/12 97/17 114/4  
existing [1] 127/13  
EXO [11] 21/17 21/20 21/25 22/3 23/2  
23/10 101/18 102/6 102/14 102/20  
105/3  
EXO/ESO [11] 21/17 21/20 21/25 22/3  
23/2 23/10 101/18 102/6 102/14 102/20  
105/3  
expect [2] 12/2 123/10  
expectation [1] 22/7  
expectations [1] 38/1  
expected [3] 56/18 97/5 124/25  
expecting [2] 72/6 72/7  
expenditures [1] 107/10  
expenses [7] 15/19 22/11 56/9 58/10  
106/24 128/10 128/21  
experience [9] 19/25 21/11 24/13 38/1  
39/12 55/13 83/15 117/17 123/6  
experienced [1] 65/18  
experiences [1] 55/15  
experiencing [1] 97/3  
expert [1] 29/4  
explain [1] 32/17  
explained [8] 30/13 38/11 39/13 102/18  
116/19 121/5 124/5 125/9  
explains [1] 96/24  
explanation [3] 89/3 109/8 116/12  
explicit [2] 97/18 97/23  
explicitly [1] 79/5  
exploit [2] 14/15 98/14  
exploitation [3] 91/16 116/11 120/23  
exploited [4] 13/24 18/12 85/17 87/22  
exploiting [1] 17/21  
exponentially [1] 17/17  
expose [2] 28/18 118/16  
exposed [4] 35/14 35/15 114/22 115/8  
express [2] 67/3 82/15  
expressed [1] 123/6  
expressing [1] 115/7  
extended [1] 74/20  
extent [7] 19/2 66/12 76/16 79/8 98/10  
100/10 122/12  
extortion [1] 90/12  
extort [1] 47/14  
extortion [3] 42/21 47/8 117/10  
extortionist [3] 42/14 42/23 43/1  
extraordinarily [1] 78/9  
extreme [1] 57/22

**F**  
17402  
extremely [3] 55/15 61/24 127/4  
exuded [1] 120/7  
face [7] 18/19 18/19 35/18 69/4 104/8  
112/16 116/23  
face-to-face [1] 18/19  
faced [1] 119/16  
facilitate [5] 107/16 108/18 110/11  
115/12 127/11  
facilitating [3] 17/22 109/3 122/2  
facing [1] 66/1  
fact [14] 12/20 18/14 31/19 56/15 68/21  
69/1 76/13 89/5 93/6 108/1 109/10  
112/10 113/12 120/12  
factor [2] 14/17 85/9  
factors [20] 62/20 62/21 64/4 66/24  
93/11 95/18 96/9 98/11 100/2 100/13  
100/24 100/25 101/9 119/15 124/20  
124/21 124/23 125/23 125/23 126/10  
facts [6] 31/16 90/1 103/13 107/12  
107/13 116/23  
fail [1] 59/3  
failed [3] 77/14 77/15 102/19  
failure [1] 101/22  
failures [1] 104/2  
fair [3] 35/24 69/6 126/4  
fairly [1] 83/2  
faith [6] 76/1 76/1 76/2 76/4 76/5 76/21  
fall [2] 26/25 95/21  
fallen [1] 56/22  
falling [1] 21/2  
false [5] 27/3 27/15 86/17 98/8 114/20  
falsely [4] 46/23 50/20 97/13 118/1  
falsified [1] 87/19  
familiar [2] 99/9 114/2  
families [3] 38/25 40/22 84/12  
family [16] 12/13 26/15 29/2 30/15  
30/22 33/12 33/18 34/12 65/16 65/19  
67/15 97/21 112/2 112/7 112/8 112/10  
fantastic [1] 36/12  
far [8] 12/19 21/10 30/10 33/16 60/12  
72/9 72/24 109/24  
farm [1] 34/23  
fashion [1] 79/9  
fashioning [1] 68/18  
fashions [1] 68/6  
fast [2] 23/4 60/21  
fateful [1] 53/9  
father [21] 17/24 28/17 44/24 45/3 45/4  
55/2 55/4 55/5 55/8 55/20 56/5 58/22  
59/8 61/24 67/15 108/10 111/5 111/12  
111/17 111/18 112/10  
father's [3] 59/1 111/22 112/9  
fault [1] 24/9  
favor [2] 33/17 85/10  
FBI [5] 1/20 28/23 30/6 35/16 112/13  
FBI's [1] 28/24  
fear [7] 36/5 55/17 56/5 59/15 59/20  
71/5 115/7  
fearful [2] 40/13 108/14  
fearing [1] 27/3  
fears [3] 24/11 24/18 38/14  
featured [1] 46/1  
February [4] 4/19 27/15 32/5 33/25  
February 10th [1] 4/19  
February 2016 [1] 33/25  
February 27 [1] 27/15  
federal [5] 2/7 27/18 29/16 78/1 121/23  
feed [1] 84/13  
feedback [2] 34/18 37/13  
feelings [2] 59/19 98/16  
fees [5] 45/18 48/9 119/9 119/11 120/16  
feet [1] 16/16  
fell [3] 38/24 40/21 58/14  
fellow's [1] 28/11  
felony [2] 27/6 14/9/7  
felt [14] 24/21 26/15 32/23 34/20 36/4  
38/14 38/23 39/12 49/24 55/17 58/12  
58/20 102/11 117/15  
female [3] 96/17 96/25 97/1  
few [6] 14/7 26/4 35/15 69/9 84/1  
113/13  
fibromyalgia [1] 32/14  
fide [2] 75/3 75/23  
field [1] 16/14  
fight [2] 33/5 35/5  
fighting [1] 33/1  
figure [3] 34/3 36/12 82/4  
figured [1] 81/12  
Fiji [2] 15/14 20/10  
file [2] 43/4 111/16  
filed [13] 4/8 31/15 31/22 32/15 42/21  
42/25 49/15 49/16 57/11 61/10 76/21  
88/25 92/5  
files [1] 49/17  
filing [2] 18/24 89/4  
filings [3] 18/6 47/24 50/21  
filling [1] 15/6  
film [1] 59/4  
final [4] 19/11 76/9 77/3 77/24  
finally [6] 37/25 38/2 58/21 76/16  
124/15 126/23  
financed [1] 28/14  
finances [1] 55/21  
financial [38] 7/5 14/23 20/19 24/23  
45/14 48/1 48/14 48/15 48/21 49/7  
49/17 49/22 50/2 50/3 51/7 53/22 61/24  
86/6 91/22 96/4 97/19 98/15 101/23  
102/17 104/4 104/12 105/6 106/7 106/9  
109/19 124/24 125/17 127/17 128/9  
128/12 128/15 128/19 128/23  
financially [1] 58/15  
fine [14] 29/17 54/19 124/16 124/18  
124/22 124/24 125/1 125/3 125/4 125/7  
125/13 125/16 126/18 128/7  
finish [4] 11/19 44/21 60/13 62/10  
finished [1] 112/12  
fire [2] 17/18 84/11  
fired [1] 47/12  
firmly [1] 21/2  
firms [1] 16/3  
first [21] 3/11 5/24 11/5 11/21 16/12  
47/11 62/20 66/25 71/17 72/22 75/13  
80/23 85/12 88/7 89/5 100/3 111/4  
114/7 119/5 120/6 121/9  
fitness [1] 101/18  
five [7] 7/20 35/10 51/24 56/4 58/5  
131/18 131/20  
fix [2] 22/23 108/14  
flags [1] 24/25  
flat [1] 67/9  
flat-out [1] 67/9  
fled [2] 26/18 56/21  
flee [1] 59/12  
flew [2] 12/4 57/17  
flies [1] 116/23  
flight [1] 35/6  
fluently [1] 74/4  
flying [1] 82/22  
focus [2] 22/25 88/8  
focused [1] 65/1  
follow [3] 14/12 81/22 127/24  
followed [3] 30/1 31/9 106/18  
following [7] 7/3 18/1 73/12 86/18 95/10  
99/1 102/5  
follows [2] 114/15 126/15  
fond [2] 78/8 78/9  
food [1] 22/12  
foot [1] 57/17

**F**  
footnote [1] 83/5  
**Forbes** [2] 28/17 111/6  
**forbid** [1] 44/25  
**force** [2] 33/16 103/3  
**forced** [5] 14/25 18/12 62/13 91/16 99/3  
**forceful** [1] 109/11  
**forego** [1] 56/7  
**foregoing** [1] 125/25  
**foreknowledge** [1] 114/25  
**foremost** [2] 66/25 121/9  
**forfeiture** [1] 126/24  
**forgive** [3] 80/5 83/9 95/2  
**forgiveness** [1] 37/18  
**form** [1] 92/15  
**formally** [1] 26/10  
**formed** [1] 97/8  
**former** [7] 16/8 27/18 28/11 29/3 109/1  
109/3 118/16  
**forms** [1] 69/22  
**forth** [6] 8/5 69/4 79/19 81/22 82/22  
84/14  
**fortune** [2] 13/22 44/22  
**Forum** [1] 46/2  
**forward** [10] 12/1 22/21 22/24 29/14  
63/4 63/5 75/6 76/18 84/3 116/25  
**forwarded** [2] 114/12 114/15  
**fought** [1] 33/12  
**Foundation** [4] 73/21 74/7 77/19 84/4  
**founder** [2] 77/13 96/10  
**four** [5] 27/15 35/10 35/11 48/8 103/7  
**fraction** [1] 19/16  
**fragile** [1] 61/13  
**fragility** [1] 60/23  
**frail** [1] 24/8  
**frankly** [1] 116/11  
**fraternity** [1] 79/24  
**fraud** [6] 57/11 90/12 96/2 99/3 117/9  
117/12  
**fraudulent** [4] 9/4 9/12 10/17 106/13  
**fraudulently** [1] 61/19  
**fraught** [1] 57/4  
**free** [5] 24/15 31/4 35/13 85/18 100/14  
**freely** [3] 24/9 67/22 118/2  
**freeze** [1] 35/6  
**frequent** [1] 129/4  
**Freudian** [1] 28/4  
**Friday** [1] 49/21  
**friend** [10] 12/2 21/3 21/9 36/21 37/16  
59/21 67/5 82/18 94/24 108/10  
**friendless** [1] 13/20  
**friends** [8] 14/10 20/18 35/1 42/8 72/2  
72/2 72/5 97/21  
**friendship** [4] 24/10 24/18 37/3 103/20  
**frightened** [1] 16/10  
**frivolous** [1] 45/22  
**front** [6] 48/8 49/12 49/17 78/3 82/12  
85/18  
**fronted** [1] 56/9  
**fuel** [1] 109/20  
**fulfill** [3] 62/23 64/7 103/2  
**fulfilled** [1] 38/15  
**full** [9] 43/10 58/6 61/2 71/1 71/2 93/1  
105/13 118/5 128/9  
**fully** [8] 15/22 20/8 21/1 65/22 72/6 72/7  
92/22 95/25  
**function** [1] 79/24  
**functioned** [1] 96/12  
**fund** [2] 74/11 119/8  
**fundamental** [1] 103/10  
**funded** [13] 27/4 31/22 33/2 50/11 77/20  
98/13 99/12 99/16 113/18 113/21  
113/22 119/7 119/23  
**funding** [9] 18/5 18/18 26/24 58/9 74/19

79/18 82/18 92/18 120/11  
funds [3] 7/12 6/1 11/19  
funnel [1] 61/19  
**Furthermore** [1] 108/23  
**future** [1] 90/15

## G

**Gaelyn** [5] 54/23 54/25 55/3 55/4 55/5  
**Gaelyn's** [2] 54/24 55/1  
**gain** [5] 7/5 96/4 98/15 111/10 113/3  
**GARAUFIS** [1] 1/7  
**garbled** [1] 80/17  
**gaze** [1] 122/25  
**general** [8] 10/6 64/23 64/24 93/6  
108/20 110/11 126/16 127/22  
**generate** [1] 102/20  
**generated** [1] 45/17  
**Genghis** [1] 29/22  
**genuine** [2] 88/22 90/10  
**genuinely** [1] 87/20  
**gifts** [1] 68/3  
**girl** [2] 46/12 48/10  
**girlfriend** [1] 28/12  
**girls** [3] 28/19 31/8 31/8  
**given** [11] 14/4 14/25 66/11 74/16 75/1  
83/7 105/13 111/12 111/21 123/17  
127/10  
**gleaned** [1] 100/22  
**glimmer** [1] 94/19  
**global** [2] 69/2 112/24  
**goal** [4] 28/2 68/2 93/18 97/14  
**goals** [2] 22/17 85/9  
**God** [2] 12/9 51/25  
**goodness** [2] 53/23 94/17  
**Google** [1] 49/6  
**government** [40] 1/10 2/6 5/2 6/10 6/22  
9/5 10/8 18/12 57/8 62/21 65/23 69/14  
69/14 69/18 70/8 71/12 71/18 79/15  
81/16 81/20 83/4 83/5 85/2 85/3 91/11  
93/2 93/10 93/16 101/13 106/23 109/4  
113/20 115/19 121/23 124/25 130/10  
130/12 130/16 131/1 131/3  
**government's** [11] 4/3 8/20 70/4 70/17  
70/24 80/9 86/14 87/15 88/9 90/7  
114/24  
**grand** [1] 82/16  
**grant** [2] 68/15 78/25  
**granted** [1] 5/14  
**granting** [1] 28/10  
**grateful** [6] 19/19 33/19 36/3 65/20  
94/15 94/18  
**gratitude** [1] 65/23  
**gravity** [2] 40/3 87/16  
**great** [1] 122/10  
**greater** [4] 62/23 64/7 104/13 126/8  
**greatly** [1] 120/17  
**grew** [3] 24/22 44/22 67/5  
**grief** [1] 55/16  
**groomed** [2] 19/24 21/5  
**gross** [1] 103/6  
**grossing** [1] 56/16  
**ground** [1] 93/16  
**group** [8] 14/2 24/9 24/14 30/7 77/20  
96/17 97/13 97/16  
**groups** [2] 97/1 129/5  
**growing** [2] 57/1 67/6  
**grown** [1] 32/25  
**growth** [4] 20/21 22/19 24/12 24/22  
**guess** [2] 13/22 77/1  
**guidance** [1] 30/1  
**guided** [1] 125/19  
**guideline** [6] 6/5 7/10 7/12 8/6 95/21  
126/10  
**guidelines** [25] 5/4 5/20 5/25 7/6 8/3  
8/10 8/14 9/7 9/8 9/18 10/2 10/4 10/5

66/23 87/15 95/12 95/14 101/7 123/14  
123/20 125/12 125/20 126/2 126/9  
126/17  
**guilted** [1] 47/1  
**guilty** [9] 7/4 7/15 9/4 9/23 18/5 54/1  
61/22 96/5 123/7  
**guns** [1] 29/11  
**guys** [1] 43/5

## H

**H-e-r-b-i-t-s** [1] 108/10  
**habit** [1] 106/24  
**hacked** [2] 59/2 89/21  
**hacking** [1] 111/4  
**Hajjar** [1] 2/6  
**half** [4] 3/16 26/21 28/9 43/10  
**hall** [1] 2/25  
**hallmarks** [1] 107/21  
**hand** [2] 116/9 116/9  
**hand-in-hand** [1] 116/9  
**handcuffed** [1] 49/9  
**handed** [1] 111/16  
**handled** [1] 107/4  
**hands** [1] 65/18  
**happy** [3] 73/6 76/21 95/3  
**harassment** [1] 117/10  
**harbor** [3] 7/5 7/20 9/1  
**harbored** [2] 8/15 101/15  
**harboring** [5] 6/3 7/14 8/18 80/24 96/3  
**hard** [4] 14/11 45/15 59/24 109/7  
**hardest** [2] 15/6 37/1  
**hardest-working** [1] 15/6  
**hardly** [1] 14/3  
**hardship** [1] 95/1  
**harm** [7] 19/7 55/4 59/23 60/1 89/23  
123/1 126/2  
**harmed** [1] 17/9  
**harmful** [3] 106/11 119/20 121/23  
**hate** [1] 117/10  
**head** [4] 23/19 72/5 97/10 105/20  
**heading** [1] 114/13  
**headline** [8] 48/6 48/12 48/18 48/23  
49/21 49/23 49/25 51/4  
**headquarters** [1] 48/11  
**heal** [6] 37/7 38/4 39/18 39/20 39/23  
39/25  
**healed** [1] 37/19  
**healing** [2] 35/22 65/21  
**health** [8] 3/9 15/8 36/13 59/3 60/23  
69/2 86/9 124/12  
**hear** [19] 5/8 11/1 11/5 11/5 11/8 11/17  
11/18 19/2 34/10 44/9 53/10 62/20  
62/24 64/3 64/19 64/20 67/2 74/21 85/1  
**heard** [16] 18/11 19/20 64/17 66/12  
66/18 66/21 75/11 78/15 78/25 79/21  
82/3 85/2 85/20 89/1 92/18 100/8  
**hearing** [5] 13/17 19/1 40/15 40/15  
70/17  
**hears** [1] 94/12  
**heart** [3] 23/25 30/14 53/23  
**heart-wrenching** [1] 30/14  
**heaved** [1] 38/23  
**height** [1] 13/18  
**Heights** [1] 51/15  
**heinous** [1] 123/10  
**heiress** [3] 13/22 49/20 79/18  
**held** [7] 18/9 30/1 51/11 89/6 98/23  
99/18 100/21  
**help** [22] 24/2 28/25 35/16 35/17 36/17  
45/23 67/17 67/20 67/23 72/4 78/22  
78/23 83/17 84/5 84/19 96/11 105/16  
107/7 108/16 115/10 116/19 127/11  
**helped** [7] 53/24 101/15 105/10 106/1  
107/16 118/14 118/24  
**helpful** [2] 39/10 78/14

**H**  
helping [5] 68/4 82/9 87/17 112/12  
115/12  
helpless [1] 17/23  
Herbits [6] 90/25 108/10 108/17 108/19  
120/9 120/11  
herself [6] 16/18 78/21 102/2 107/18  
115/10 127/9  
Hi [2] 11/22 44/18  
hidden [2] 79/3 79/4  
hide [1] 61/16  
high [5] 29/10 44/21 51/11 124/13  
126/16  
high-paid [1] 29/10  
high-risk [1] 124/13  
higher [3] 36/16 36/18 57/1  
highest [3] 9/19 9/21 97/8  
highlight [1] 77/7  
highly [2] 83/19 119/14  
HIJJAR [1] 1/13  
hire [5] 12/10 16/6 23/21 27/18 42/16  
hired [11] 21/21 21/24 22/9 23/14 28/25  
29/4 29/11 29/20 29/25 55/22 70/21  
history [9] 10/3 34/11 67/13 68/7 85/12  
101/2 106/14 122/5 126/4  
hit [1] 84/9  
hold [2] 105/20 131/12  
holding [3] 6/11 6/23 37/17  
holy [1] 52/2  
home [7] 29/17 29/19 31/5 31/8 32/8  
59/4 98/19  
homes [1] 59/14  
hometown [1] 47/11  
honest [1] 45/16  
honor [109] 2/5 2/10 2/16 4/10 4/18 4/19  
5/1 5/2 5/9 5/17 6/19 10/9 10/11 10/24  
11/12 13/14 14/14 17/5 19/4 20/11 26/3  
33/6 44/11 51/21 53/8 54/13 54/20  
64/10 64/17 65/6 65/7 65/10 65/13 66/3  
66/7 66/12 66/20 67/2 67/11 67/12 68/4  
68/5 68/5 68/8 68/14 68/15 68/18 68/25  
69/5 69/8 69/12 70/18 70/24 71/5 71/10  
72/4 72/12 73/4 73/20 73/21 75/18 77/7  
77/25 78/3 78/4 78/15 78/18 78/25 79/8  
79/17 79/21 79/25 80/18 80/22 80/24  
81/6 81/9 82/8 82/15 82/19 82/20 82/24  
82/24 82/25 83/11 83/21 84/8 84/18  
84/22 85/3 89/1 91/25 93/5 93/21 94/2  
94/4 94/12 94/15 95/4 98/25 103/15  
103/24 118/19 126/13 130/4 130/11  
131/7 131/11 131/15  
Honor's [2] 70/9 75/13  
honorable [3] 1/7 20/5 30/21  
hope [13] 19/14 19/20 25/3 25/4 25/7  
33/13 37/25 38/6 44/3 44/4 65/25 94/19  
95/2  
hoped [1] 108/17  
horrible [1] 24/16  
horrific [1] 110/8  
horrified [2] 16/17 41/21  
horrifying [1] 61/7  
horrors [1] 118/23  
hospital [2] 16/10 16/20  
hostile [1] 90/24  
hour [5] 3/16 15/10 16/13 17/2 17/3  
hours [3] 15/7 19/16 45/13  
house [6] 45/8 50/22 57/7 68/8 68/21  
87/10  
household [1] 45/7  
housing [3] 22/12 44/23 51/15  
huge [1] 61/12  
human [2] 69/23 98/19  
humanitarian [8] 12/3 13/2 20/7 53/24  
54/2 68/2 78/18 124/10

humanitarians [1] 13/2  
humanity [7] 28/2 40/3 42/3 42/4 47/23  
83/24 83/25  
humble [1] 57/15  
humiliated [1] 51/4  
humiliating [1] 49/24  
hundred [1] 22/25  
hundreds [5] 16/2 16/2 48/12 48/23  
113/2  
hundredth [1] 27/23  
hurt [4] 65/15 84/14 84/16 118/25  
hurts [1] 119/14  
husband [4] 24/21 34/6 34/24 114/5  
**I**  
I'd [7] 3/6 26/9 29/17 32/7 90/6 130/5  
130/20  
I'll [8] 3/12 5/8 27/7 43/19 62/24 62/25  
131/9 131/12  
I'm [65] 3/19 4/9 4/10 5/19 11/14 11/24  
12/22 17/8 18/10 26/13 27/22 33/6  
33/19 34/11 35/22 36/7 37/11 43/17  
43/17 43/17 43/25 46/7 48/10 50/1 50/8  
50/17 51/2 51/5 51/6 51/8 51/13 54/14  
55/25 60/5 60/8 61/15 62/2 62/8 62/15  
64/25 70/11 75/1 75/14 75/16 76/6  
76/19 76/21 77/1 80/4 82/22 94/6 94/15  
94/17 94/18 94/21 95/4 104/10 115/20  
115/20 122/5 125/12 127/7 130/20  
131/8 131/17  
I've [11] 13/16 27/1 36/7 43/24 48/7  
123/13 123/16 124/2 124/9 125/8  
129/11  
idea [4] 22/18 23/23 53/13 82/4  
ideas [1] 118/22  
identification [3] 9/4 106/13 109/4  
identified [1] 88/16  
identify [2] 3/12 109/7  
identifying [1] 97/2  
identity [2] 61/19 87/25  
ill [2] 59/19 101/10  
ill-intentioned [1] 101/10  
illegal [13] 7/5 30/23 30/25 31/7 41/20  
48/8 57/20 58/23 80/25 81/15 82/17  
96/3 126/18  
illegitimate [1] 14/1  
illness [1] 36/4  
illustrate [1] 90/25  
imagery [1] 80/15  
imagine [5] 36/8 55/16 59/20 109/8  
112/20  
immediate [1] 114/16  
immediately [4] 50/24 95/10 126/19  
126/20  
immensely [3] 38/22 39/10 94/15  
immigrant [1] 23/14  
immigrants [2] 106/5 121/24  
immigration [7] 15/19 81/2 85/16 102/21  
105/17 106/8 121/21  
immigration-related [1] 121/21  
impact [11] 37/5 64/14 64/22 65/17 85/6  
87/11 102/10 102/25 103/21 105/15  
109/9  
impacted [1] 39/17  
impeccable [1] 51/11  
implicate [1] 16/11  
implode [1] 32/24  
important [12] 11/25 15/21 20/6 22/23  
38/18 55/12 67/6 69/11 77/6 83/7 100/2  
131/5  
Importantly [1] 103/13  
impose [12] 31/17 64/6 85/4 93/15  
93/17 95/13 121/16 124/18 124/22  
124/24 125/3 125/8  
imposed [2] 123/12 123/24  
imposing [4] 100/25 124/16 125/13  
125/17  
impossible [3] 16/22 42/7 58/11  
impression [2] 71/6 98/8  
improper [2] 81/12 81/15  
impute [2] 80/10 115/3  
imputes [1] 114/25  
inappropriate [1] 99/24  
incapsulated [1] 34/2  
incarcerated [1] 124/10  
incarceration [1] 126/21  
incident [3] 96/2 112/2 112/6  
incinerated [1] 30/5  
include [4] 3/23 124/23 124/25 128/11  
included [3] 82/24 97/17 129/12  
including [18] 24/25 31/7 48/3 57/21  
59/1 68/12 70/7 96/6 97/4 97/22 97/24  
101/1 112/16 115/6 119/7 125/8 126/5  
128/10  
inclusion [1] 14/2  
income [17] 23/8 44/22 51/15 57/9  
61/10 61/21 81/17 81/19 84/9 102/20  
102/8 103/6 105/5 116/17 128/10  
128/11 128/20  
incongruity [1] 24/3  
inconsistent [2] 81/18 82/8  
inconvenient [1] 103/2  
increase [6] 5/25 6/4 6/15 9/19 9/22  
125/4  
increasingly [1] 57/2  
incredible [3] 73/25 74/5 109/25  
incredibly [1] 65/20  
indeed [8] 68/10 70/15 71/7 73/13 78/14  
81/2 81/11 81/11  
indentured [1] 14/16  
independent [3] 22/2 73/1 83/16  
independently [1] 95/17  
India [1] 105/11  
indicate [1] 8/10  
indicated [2] 87/11 108/17  
indication [1] 18/3  
indicative [1] 119/12  
indicted [1] 27/15  
indictment [2] 100/16 108/18  
indictments [1] 108/12  
indifferent [1] 59/10  
indirect [1] 107/6  
individual [8] 72/20 74/19 83/19 83/23  
105/8 106/17 128/14 129/2  
individual's [1] 105/6  
individualized [2] 95/18 125/22  
individuals [9] 11/7 85/15 101/15 108/7  
109/10 110/3 112/9 116/13 124/13  
individuals' [1] 106/7  
indoctrination [1] 35/5  
indulgence [1] 84/22  
industry [2] 45/15 51/12  
ineffective [1] 76/19  
inept [1] 13/20  
infect [1] 111/14  
infecting [1] 111/23  
infer [1] 76/3  
inference [3] 75/18 75/19 76/15  
inferences [1] 76/17  
inflicted [1] 33/14  
influence [2] 20/4 29/24  
influenced [1] 28/14  
inform [1] 83/17  
information [17] 20/1 31/7 41/9 41/11  
88/3 98/3 100/14 100/22 106/16 113/3  
113/10 113/25 114/20 118/4 128/22  
128/24 131/10  
informed [2] 116/13 125/21  
infringement [1] 31/24  
inherent [1] 26/5

inherit [1] 51/17  
 inheritance [1] 67/22  
 inherited [2] 44/22 61/2  
 inheriting [1] 81/23  
 initial [3] 76/12 119/8 125/21  
 initials [3] 54/14 54/17 98/22  
 initiatives [1] 114/13  
 injustice [1] 25/2  
 inner [4] 14/6 42/23 53/5 70/12  
 innocent [7] 48/24 49/25 50/1 50/7 51/8  
 75/16 122/19  
 innocuous [1] 109/8  
 innovative [1] 118/22  
 inquired [1] 108/12  
 inquiry [1] 100/12  
 insecure [2] 13/20 40/13  
 insecurities [1] 38/14  
 insignificant [1] 14/18  
 insisted [1] 55/7  
 inssofar [1] 8/24  
 inspire [1] 108/16  
 instances [1] 54/13  
 instead [15] 12/4 13/5 15/11 17/7 23/7  
 24/18 45/22 45/23 61/18 85/24 87/8  
 87/21 88/22 101/19 115/11  
 institute [1] 75/16  
 institution [1] 80/18  
 institutions [1] 44/25  
 instructed [1] 118/18  
 instruction [2] 98/22 125/20  
 insufficient [1] 123/19  
 insurance [3] 15/8 27/17 36/14  
 integrity [1] 48/22  
 integrous [1] 45/16  
 intellectual [1] 74/12  
 intend [1] 74/10  
 intended [1] 65/15  
 intense [1] 33/24  
 intensive [1] 15/14  
 intention [1] 23/24  
 intentionally [1] 107/7  
 intentioned [3] 19/5 82/17 101/10  
 intentions [1] 107/10  
 interacted [1] 13/23  
 interest [2] 61/5 105/9  
 interested [2] 130/20 131/17  
 interesting [1] 39/7  
 interests [2] 119/1 119/17  
 internal [1] 22/5  
 interview [1] 59/5  
 intimate [1] 46/20  
 intimidate [5] 91/6 108/23 110/12 113/7  
 116/9  
 intimidating [2] 108/6 110/2  
 intimidation [2] 115/13 117/21  
 introduce [1] 26/9  
 introduced [3] 66/13 67/14 67/24  
 intrusions [1] 31/15  
 invest [1] 92/3  
 invested [2] 72/17 73/2  
 investigate [3] 70/22 91/3 93/8  
 investigation [9] 2/8 3/23 5/6 10/22 29/2  
 48/1 65/24 88/22 128/19  
 investigations [2] 90/12 117/9  
 investigators [1] 70/20  
 investing [2] 72/3 73/15  
 investment [4] 43/20 73/23 92/2 127/16  
 investments [1] 71/20  
 investor [1] 74/3  
 investors [2] 73/14 73/18  
 invitation [1] 20/12  
 invited [4] 20/9 20/16 31/3 119/5  
 invoice [1] 29/1

involve [1] 6/2  
 involved [6] 11/2 16/13 19/12 23/5  
 72/2 72/24 73/2 88/13 101/25  
 involvement [5] 34/1 37/4 69/10 90/3  
 107/4  
 involves [1] 111/4  
 involving [3] 57/4 90/12 117/9  
 irrelevant [1] 65/17  
 irreparable [1] 12/13  
 irrevocable [1] 119/10  
 Island [2] 20/9 20/16  
 isolated [1] 96/2  
 Israeli's [1] 29/3  
 issue [9] 6/14 7/8 8/1 31/18 61/11 62/25  
 66/22 73/12 79/14  
 issued [2] 61/8 117/25  
 issues [8] 22/22 22/23 22/25 70/14  
 77/13 102/15 103/1 103/1  
 itself [2] 59/20 77/16  
 Ivy [2] 13/13 13/14

**J**

jail [5] 26/20 26/21 27/3 37/25 38/2  
 Jane [57] 7/16 8/5 8/21 9/1 19/18 19/18  
 19/21 21/15 21/15 66/10 67/1 67/4 67/5  
 67/8 80/24 81/3 85/20 85/21 85/24 86/3  
 86/5 86/5 86/13 101/15 101/19 101/24  
 102/5 102/10 102/14 102/16 102/21  
 102/23 103/8 103/14 103/17 103/21  
 103/22 103/24 103/25 104/1 104/6  
 104/7 104/14 104/18 104/21 105/14  
 111/9 111/14 111/15 111/21 111/24  
 112/3 120/24 120/24 121/3 121/24  
 126/23  
 January [1] 34/8  
 Jersey [1] 108/21  
 jet [1] 57/18  
 jilted [1] 28/11  
 JNESS [1] 16/7  
 job [4] 22/9 72/8 102/24 104/2  
 jobs [1] 22/10  
 John [1] 30/14  
 join [1] 97/12  
 joined [2] 2/7 36/11  
 joining [1] 97/21  
 joint [1] 128/15  
 journey [1] 35/22  
 JR [1] 1/16

judge [11] 1/8 28/9 31/12 31/16 38/9  
 38/10 40/16 42/25 43/1 44/4 104/9  
 judge's [1] 100/12  
 judged [1] 81/6  
 judges [1] 48/8  
 judgment [4] 58/11 126/24 130/18  
 131/13  
 judgment-proof [1] 58/11  
 judgments [1] 127/10  
 July [1] 35/19  
 July 2018 [1] 35/19  
 jump [1] 32/19  
 June [2] 99/15 114/4  
 June 2017 [2] 99/15 114/4  
 jurisdiction [3] 75/14 75/17 76/14  
 jurors [1] 98/5  
 jury [2] 91/15 99/1  
 justice [3] 28/3 28/4 65/24  
 justifies [1] 125/11  
 justify [2] 55/19 56/8  
 Juval [1] 29/2

**K**

Kahn [1] 29/22  
 Kahn's [1] 31/12  
 Karen [1] 53/15  
 karma [1] 39/22

Kathy [1] 14/24  
 Keaffe [2] 44/15 5/12  
 keep [18] 13/6 13/10 15/2 18/17 27/22  
 32/18 58/10 58/10 68/25 70/13 81/3  
 82/18 102/2 106/6 107/7 117/18 122/2  
 130/21  
 keeping [1] 106/24  
 keeps [2] 94/6 94/9  
 Keith [81] 7/19 12/20 13/1 13/24 19/23  
 19/24 20/13 20/23 20/25 21/5 21/8 21/9  
 21/10 23/9 24/20 26/17 27/10 30/13  
 31/6 32/2 38/18 40/20 40/25 41/10  
 41/25 44/2 46/18 47/16 48/4 49/1 53/3  
 53/13 54/23 54/24 54/25 55/1 55/3 55/4  
 55/6 55/10 55/13 55/18 55/19 55/23  
 56/7 56/8 56/18 56/25 57/6 57/9 57/12  
 58/10 58/10 58/23 58/24 59/15 60/3  
 60/17 60/19 61/1 61/2 61/4 61/8 61/17  
 61/20 61/20 61/22 71/19 72/1 81/17  
 81/21 81/23 82/5 82/17 89/9 90/24  
 92/10 92/17 96/6 118/5 130/24  
 Keith's [6] 20/10 56/9 58/10 60/25 61/11  
 61/25  
 kept [3] 23/5 53/16 70/15  
 key [1] 79/22  
 keynote [1] 46/1  
 kill [1] 16/18  
 killing [1] 44/3  
 kind [10] 13/21 41/14 49/23 74/24 74/25  
 100/13 104/21 104/23 104/25 112/21  
 kinds [1] 87/10  
 KK [1] 57/5  
 knock [1] 28/23  
 knowing [8] 16/23 17/18 17/25 23/23  
 29/10 43/6 58/6 102/3  
 knowingly [7] 28/20 53/4 99/12 99/15  
 110/11 113/21 113/22  
 knowledge [5] 77/17 80/10 98/10 115/9  
 128/16  
 known [8] 11/23 26/10 27/2 78/5 88/12  
 114/5 120/23 121/12  
 knows [8] 33/18 68/8 71/12 73/5 79/25  
 84/8 91/2 91/14  
 KR [5] 37/7 37/13 37/17 37/22 61/25  
 Kristen [4] 33/18 53/2 53/9 53/15  
 Kristin [3] 44/8 51/22 53/19

**L**

labeled [1] 53/10  
 labor [7] 14/25 43/13 85/18 91/16 98/15  
 99/3 106/6  
 lacking [1] 13/19  
 laid [1] 81/4  
 language [2] 92/3 117/5  
 larceny [1] 117/10  
 large [3] 19/10 58/9 77/3  
 largely [1] 100/13  
 larger [4] 96/1 96/5 107/19 114/5  
 last [17] 18/19 18/24 20/25 24/21 26/17  
 26/18 32/21 36/24 38/21 39/1 40/12  
 40/23 41/12 50/9 56/4 84/1 103/7  
 lasted [1] 48/7  
 lastly [4] 24/24 64/17 93/5 95/4  
 latest [1] 28/3  
 launched [2] 47/24 48/1  
 Lauren [9] 80/3 80/4 80/5 80/8 89/9  
 114/7 118/8 118/11 120/2  
 law [18] 7/22 23/16 31/18 40/10 40/10  
 81/10 82/11 83/18 85/16 86/16 89/24  
 91/9 95/14 101/4 116/20 121/17 122/4  
 122/10  
 laws [2] 81/2 112/19  
 lawsuit [3] 31/14 31/22 92/8  
 lawsuits [6] 16/3 48/7 49/14 50/11 74/22  
 75/3

L  
Case 1:18-cr-00204-NCG Document 964 Filed 07/23/20 Page 144 of 154 PageID# 106  
lawyer [7] 12/11 55/25 75/6 75/7 109/1  
109/6 117/17  
lawyers [7] 18/24 74/11 75/5 76/23  
87/19 90/2 116/21  
lay [1] 84/11  
layers [2] 53/6 70/12  
lead [3] 57/11 118/24 126/8  
leader [5] 6/7 8/12 45/19 51/12 77/14  
leaders [1] 42/7  
leadership [5] 6/11 6/23 8/8 46/1 99/18  
learn [7] 23/13 25/3 25/5 43/21 44/2  
103/17 119/16  
learned [6] 16/6 43/24 61/3 61/6 70/15  
83/14  
learning [1] 115/14  
least [7] 30/2 33/24 77/6 79/13 96/22  
105/24 127/20  
leave [9] 33/25 34/4 38/2 39/20 39/24  
40/22 49/1 62/13 116/15  
leaves [1] 9/25  
leaving [5] 36/9 46/16 65/22 97/16  
116/18  
led [3] 17/5 102/11 112/17  
left [14] 18/19 30/7 33/5 36/14 41/23  
42/7 42/22 46/22 47/19 52/3 71/5 83/13  
101/23 107/2  
legal [19] 29/11 30/9 33/1 33/1 40/10  
52/2 55/23 75/16 87/4 109/11 112/18  
112/22 114/13 116/19 119/7 119/9  
119/11 120/16 122/6  
legally [1] 40/19  
lent [1] 48/4  
LESKO [2] 1/14 2/6  
less [8] 10/20 25/6 43/10 85/25 86/8  
93/17 105/13 115/22  
letter [26] 4/5 18/6 29/13 42/15 47/10  
47/15 47/22 47/23 47/24 47/25 50/17  
50/17 50/18 50/19 69/14 83/3 87/6  
102/13 115/17 115/20 117/5 117/8  
117/16 117/17 117/20 117/20  
letters [29] 4/1 37/21 38/10 39/8 39/16  
77/25 78/10 82/21 83/1 86/17 87/19  
88/13 88/15 88/21 88/23 89/10 89/15  
89/17 90/1 90/3 90/7 90/8 90/10 97/19  
100/4 100/6 116/25 118/14 118/14  
letting [1] 38/9  
level [39] 5/4 5/22 5/25 6/4 6/9 6/11 6/13  
6/20 6/23 6/25 7/3 7/6 7/9 7/10 7/11  
7/13 8/2 8/7 9/2 9/6 9/9 9/9 9/11 9/14  
9/16 9/17 9/19 9/21 9/22 9/23 9/24 9/25  
10/1 10/4 10/13 10/14 10/15 10/19  
10/20  
levels [4] 9/20 10/15 10/16 10/21  
leverage [2] 122/8 126/5  
leveraged [2] 15/22 108/5  
LEVIN [3] 1/18 1/19 2/11  
liabilities [1] 128/11  
liability [2] 81/21 106/25  
liaison [1] 52/2  
liberty [2] 44/21 68/22  
license [1] 16/19  
lie [17] 20/8 20/14 23/19 23/21 38/19  
43/14 47/11 53/4 54/25 55/10 55/14  
70/11 70/13 70/19 70/20 79/6 79/22  
lied [7] 31/19 46/21 47/9 52/7 55/14  
86/16 88/19  
lies [7] 12/14 12/17 15/1 48/2 55/6  
59/10 61/14  
lieu [1] 117/7  
life [43] 12/9 16/20 16/22 18/21 18/22  
21/12 24/14 26/7 30/17 32/6 32/7 32/8  
32/10 32/17 33/12 34/1 37/5 37/6 37/8  
37/19 40/9 44/19 45/5 45/24 46/16

46/23 48/6 49/11 51/23 54/24 55/13  
56/6 59/1 59/22 60/21 62/20 63/6 67/16  
67/19 73/1 95/2 120/17 121/11  
lifetime [3] 20/17 27/2 48/5  
light [4] 38/5 38/6 124/11 125/6  
likewise [2] 122/1 126/10  
limit [1] 126/9  
limitation [2] 91/20 93/2  
limited [5] 100/18 108/24 118/4 127/4  
129/5  
limiting [1] 11/14  
limitless [1] 122/15  
line [4] 36/13 114/7 115/16 119/5  
link [1] 111/13  
lipstick [1] 42/4  
LISA [1] 1/22  
list [8] 56/22 72/4 89/23 90/5 90/9 117/4  
117/7 129/6  
listened [1] 100/6  
lists [1] 90/17  
litigating [1] 57/25  
litigation [17] 26/22 28/5 28/8 28/14  
28/20 30/15 31/19 32/1 74/9 74/10  
74/10 74/20 75/8 75/11 76/12 76/24  
109/19  
litigiousness [1] 17/23  
live [8] 24/2 32/16 32/19 55/10 76/20  
95/2 102/3 119/4  
liveable [1] 57/23  
lived [2] 34/23 58/5  
livelihoods [1] 116/17  
lives [13] 24/8 27/13 32/22 38/4 38/22  
38/24 40/20 40/20 40/24 58/14 78/24  
97/4 118/2  
living [2] 87/8 87/21  
LLC [1] 21/25  
loan [3] 92/9 92/15 92/17  
loans [3] 56/17 57/10 113/13  
loathing [2] 38/13 40/13  
local [5] 28/25 48/10 48/11 49/6 49/17  
locale [1] 129/4  
locally [1] 111/23  
locations [1] 3/1  
loneliness [1] 59/20  
long-term [1] 60/23  
longtime [2] 72/25 114/9  
look [9] 23/4 29/21 32/21 35/23 41/13  
42/5 73/21 102/24 108/14  
looked [2] 13/23 27/6  
looking [5] 4/9 12/22 13/3 34/13 50/5  
losing [5] 16/19 27/2 27/9 32/10 118/22  
loss [3] 9/10 43/20 43/22  
lost [7] 26/25 29/18 30/11 48/18 73/6  
73/15 92/14  
love [4] 36/21 37/3 38/20 65/21  
loved [4] 36/2 79/25 80/1 80/11  
low [3] 23/7 23/25 44/22  
low-income [1] 44/22  
lowered [1] 14/18  
loyal [4] 14/11 15/25 121/7 125/11  
loyalty [3] 24/10 119/20 120/21  
lump [1] 61/1  
lump-sum [1] 61/1  
lunchtime [1] 3/15  
lying [1] 70/25

**M**

ma'am [2] 54/12 62/18  
Magazine [1] 111/6  
magnanimous [1] 116/16  
mail [19] 90/24 101/20 103/21 108/9  
108/17 111/10 111/13 111/15 111/25  
112/9 114/14 115/15 115/23 115/24  
115/25 116/2 129/1 129/1 129/1  
mailed [7] 101/24 102/6 102/23 103/8

**M**  
members... [6] 97/15 97/21 114/9  
116/18 118/2 119/5  
membership [3] 69/16 83/6 98/1  
memoranda [1] 85/6  
memorandum [6] 4/1 4/3 4/4 89/3 89/16  
90/8  
men [1] 24/9  
menace [1] 19/9  
menial [1] 87/10  
mentally [4] 53/10 53/12 57/13 58/15  
mention [4] 24/5 68/17 71/13 117/7  
mentioned [8] 23/9 39/5 39/6 45/5 45/7  
71/22 78/16 121/18  
mentions [1] 69/11  
mere [4] 50/13 50/19 107/1 112/2  
merely [3] 95/14 103/16 117/3  
message [1] 93/9  
messages [1] 111/13  
met [6] 13/21 26/10 26/16 55/22 57/15  
73/4  
Metadata [1] 116/3  
methods [1] 109/23  
metric [1] 22/6  
Mexican [4] 90/10 109/1 115/25 116/20  
Mexico [15] 31/3 31/8 75/6 88/24 89/22  
89/24 89/24 90/4 105/18 115/23 116/14  
116/21 117/3 117/18 119/4  
MF [3] 81/19 82/9 82/18  
MICHAEL [2] 1/20 112/14  
Microsoft [3] 31/23 32/2 116/1  
middle [1] 16/15  
midst [2] 31/25 69/1  
mighty [15] 12/3 16/18 38/19 40/17 41/4  
41/8 42/17 57/12 58/25 59/16 61/11  
116/17 121/12 121/20 125/7  
Mike [1] 2/7  
mill [1] 96/3  
million [36] 31/24 45/18 45/19 46/23  
47/3 47/14 47/17 51/1 51/1 51/5 56/14  
56/16 57/16 57/18 59/1 61/4 71/17  
71/19 71/20 72/10 72/18 73/20 77/4  
77/15 77/19 82/4 91/24 92/2 92/13  
103/6 103/7 108/3 113/15 119/8 126/24  
127/12  
millionaire [1] 45/17  
millionaires [1] 122/15  
millions [9] 17/15 27/4 31/10 41/6 47/6  
48/19 58/25 71/23 71/23  
mind [7] 12/14 13/6 13/10 32/12 60/6  
60/7 68/25  
mindful [1] 122/5  
mine [1] 37/11  
mingled [1] 128/10  
minimal [1] 107/6  
minimize [4] 2/22 92/21 107/14 124/11  
minimum [4] 17/3 69/15 86/1 123/14  
minutes [7] 11/14 11/16 11/17 19/15  
54/12 89/19 115/22  
misdeeds [1] 96/1  
misled [1] 21/23  
misplaced [1] 119/21  
misrepresentations [1] 121/22  
miss [1] 32/7  
missed [1] 32/25  
misses [2] 89/12 92/24  
mission [7] 21/18 21/21 23/22 24/1  
67/18 67/19 109/22  
mistakenly [1] 81/24  
mistakes [4] 67/18 94/20 94/21 94/22  
mistreatment [1] 104/21  
misunderstanding [1] 107/1  
misused [2] 78/19 117/4  
misusing [4] 89/22 90/4 90/9 90/17

mitigating [1] 93/11  
mobility [6] 9/6  
modest [1] 57/24  
modules [1] 30/21  
Mom [4] 26/25 27/9 32/11 44/23  
Mom's [1] 29/19  
moment [7] 18/22 35/2 36/5 53/21 104/8  
112/8 115/5  
moments [2] 12/8 14/8  
money [52] 12/24 12/25 16/23 17/9 19/7  
21/12 23/2 23/16 23/17 24/25 26/4  
27/11 27/17 27/21 36/13 38/16 38/17  
42/17 42/20 45/22 45/23 47/2 47/2 48/4  
53/25 56/18 57/20 61/3 61/19 71/4 71/6  
71/11 71/14 71/24 72/17 73/5 73/6  
73/14 74/6 74/7 77/21 82/16 86/7 86/10  
87/4 101/25 107/7 107/11 107/14 122/2  
126/24 127/10  
monies [2] 57/9 77/4  
monitor [1] 111/24  
monster [2] 18/1 35/18  
monsters [1] 33/12  
month [7] 22/3 49/15 59/7 85/22 101/17  
102/5 105/3  
monthly [1] 128/20  
months [11] 10/5 45/25 61/12 68/9  
68/17 85/5 93/17 103/8 105/3 106/18  
126/15  
Moreover [2] 61/25 104/25  
morning [10] 2/5 2/9 2/10 2/13 2/14 2/15  
2/16 4/11 26/3 51/25  
Mossad [1] 29/3  
most [20] 12/8 12/18 15/25 16/5 16/24  
19/12 20/20 32/10 32/25 38/14 55/12  
55/13 56/23 76/12 79/4 89/1 110/8  
113/8 117/23 127/19  
mostly [2] 23/25 111/25  
mother [7] 13/8 30/9 42/18 55/1 55/12  
55/14 109/14  
motherless [1] 36/9  
motivating [1] 79/9  
mountaintops [1] 69/17  
mouth [1] 117/18  
move [8] 22/21 22/24 28/3 29/14 44/14  
44/15 76/7 131/19  
moved [2] 36/12 76/17  
movement [1] 112/24  
movie [1] 34/14  
Moving [1] 9/3  
MR [6] 65/7 76/22 77/12 93/21 111/6  
131/8  
Mr. [26] 11/15 31/22 64/9 65/2 65/11  
66/6 71/7 71/9 72/8 72/23 72/25 73/10  
77/9 79/21 92/13 93/20 99/8 108/17  
108/18 108/19 108/22 111/8 111/10  
111/11 111/19 111/25  
Mr. Bronfman [2] 111/8 111/19  
Mr. Bronfman's [3] 111/10 111/11  
111/25  
Mr. Herbits [2] 108/17 108/19  
Mr. Raniere [11] 31/22 65/2 71/7 71/9  
72/8 72/23 72/25 73/10 77/9 79/21  
92/13  
Mr. Raniere's [2] 65/11 99/8  
Mr. Reccoppa [1] 11/15  
Mr. Ross [1] 108/22  
Mr. Ross's [1] 108/18  
Mr. Sullivan [3] 64/9 66/6 93/20  
Ms [35] 2/12 2/15 3/23 5/23 6/8 6/10  
6/22 7/2 7/4 7/15 7/18 7/19 8/4 8/8 8/23  
9/3 9/4 9/22 10/3 22/1 23/9 24/5 54/12  
57/4 76/24 85/1 102/16 111/20 113/9  
114/8 114/11 114/15 116/11 119/3  
130/24  
Ms. [172]

**Ms. Bouchey** [3] 54/5 70/10 79/2  
Ms. Bronfman [130] 5/22 21/13 21/23  
38/10 39/22 40/4 42/9 43/8 43/5 66/11  
68/8 71/8 75/1 92/6 93/22 93/23 96/1  
96/5 96/22 98/6 99/5 99/6 99/8 99/9  
99/13 99/21 100/5 101/7 101/15 101/20  
101/21 101/25 102/6 102/11 102/21  
102/23 102/24 103/2 103/4 103/8  
103/14 103/22 103/24 104/9 104/10  
104/18 104/22 105/1 105/4 105/7  
105/10 105/16 105/25 106/1 106/5  
106/19 106/25 107/6 107/18 107/23  
107/25 108/5 108/11 108/20 109/6  
109/10 109/12 109/23 110/6 110/10  
111/12 111/16 111/17 111/23 112/8  
112/12 112/14 112/17 112/21 112/23  
113/2 113/5 113/10 113/14 113/16  
113/18 113/21 113/22 113/25 114/10  
114/23 115/6 115/9 115/16 115/22  
116/3 116/5 116/8 116/13 116/18  
116/24 117/2 117/24 117/25 118/3  
118/7 118/10 118/20 119/10 119/16  
119/22 119/25 120/3 120/6 120/25  
121/4 121/8 123/5 123/5 123/15 124/1  
124/3 124/17 125/1 125/2 125/14  
126/12 126/14 127/8 127/16  
**Ms. Bronfman's** [38] 71/14 85/7 91/22  
98/10 99/21 101/11 101/22 104/3 104/5  
105/7 105/20 106/12 106/15 107/15  
107/20 108/10 108/23 109/18 111/2  
112/1 112/4 112/6 115/1 115/4 119/13  
119/15 120/14 120/21 121/22 122/1  
122/5 122/13 122/23 124/6 124/12  
124/23 125/6 126/1  
**Ms. Saltzman** [1] 70/17  
multi [1] 122/15  
multi-millionaires [1] 122/15  
multimillionaire [1] 72/16  
multiple [4] 9/18 10/19 26/22 111/18  
multiple-count [1] 10/19  
must [10] 9/19 24/13 47/2 48/13 48/14  
85/9 100/25 106/13 122/11 124/21  
mutual [1] 105/23  
myriad [1] 15/1

## N

N377 [1] 1/23  
naked [2] 24/16 88/16  
name [17] 11/22 12/5 13/14 26/5 26/10  
28/1 28/2 28/21 35/18 51/18 61/11 80/5  
98/16 106/24 107/8 107/14 122/3  
named [1] 54/23  
names [1] 45/5  
Nancy [15] 14/16 26/18 28/22 41/1  
41/10 41/19 46/24 47/16 55/23 57/5  
57/8 57/12 79/25 80/3 89/10  
Nancy's [1] 57/7  
narrow [1] 8/1  
Natalie [2] 26/2 26/10  
naturally [1] 23/12  
nature [7] 17/1 85/13 101/1 123/11  
123/17 125/15 126/1  
nearly [1] 116/1  
necessarily [2] 107/22 114/1  
necessary [7] 62/23 64/7 85/8 93/18  
96/8 111/22 128/22  
need [22] 3/18 42/17 47/2 48/21 62/4  
66/8 91/8 91/9 93/5 101/2 101/5 101/6  
115/11 120/4 120/11 121/16 122/12  
123/3 124/2 124/10 127/10 131/19  
needed [16] 16/23 22/5 22/8 22/21  
24/20 26/11 32/4 34/3 35/3 35/23 35/23  
47/4 86/9 93/9 102/7 103/9  
needs [5] 44/25 53/11 102/17 108/14  
120/13

**N**

negative [1] 34/14  
 negatives [1] 35/3  
 neglected [1] 84/23  
 negotiated [1] 45/3  
 nervous [2] 46/7 50/17  
 net [1] 45/18  
 neurologic [1] 84/6  
 Nevares [2] 13/13 13/14  
 never [54] 12/14 14/3 15/5 17/9 17/16  
 19/14 22/3 22/8 22/20 23/6 23/13 26/6  
 26/9 26/16 26/23 27/23 29/7 29/10  
 30/23 30/24 32/24 39/6 39/13 41/4  
 41/15 43/19 44/5 45/5 45/7 47/9 47/9  
 47/22 48/4 48/4 48/15 50/24 52/5 54/24  
 55/6 57/14 57/20 61/9 61/11 65/22  
 74/24 82/12 84/1 85/23 89/19 92/14  
 101/10 105/17 105/19 119/23  
**new [19]** 1/1 1/4 1/12 1/13 1/19 1/19  
 1/24 42/15 49/5 59/12 59/19 66/13  
 90/20 92/6 96/14 108/21 108/21 115/14  
 118/15  
**New Jersey [1]** 108/21  
**New York [4]** 59/12 59/19 90/20 108/21  
**newly [1]** 97/11  
**news [13]** 48/7 48/12 48/18 48/23 49/12  
 49/17 49/17 49/21 49/23 49/25 51/4  
 90/16 90/18  
**newspaper [1]** 70/16  
**newspapers [1]** 46/3  
**next [14]** 11/1 13/12 25/11 26/19 51/14  
 52/8 55/24 56/3 63/19 71/4 91/8 110/15  
 115/23 129/13  
**NGG [1]** 1/2  
**NICHOLAS [1]** 1/7  
**night [6]** 16/13 16/15 34/9 41/20 49/21  
 53/9  
**nilly [1]** 71/6  
**nine [4]** 11/16 20/24 30/7 48/2  
**Ninety [1]** 35/13  
**noise [1]** 94/12  
**non [3]** 48/18 123/16 123/19  
**non-custodial [2]** 123/16 123/19  
**non-stop [1]** 48/18  
**noncitizen [2]** 105/2 105/11  
**noncitizens [3]** 7/21 8/15 8/19  
**nonconsensual [1]** 106/3  
**noncustodial [1]** 101/8  
**none [4]** 36/14 37/14 77/17 103/13  
**Nonetheless [1]** 123/10  
**norms [1]** 83/18  
**Northwest [1]** 42/12  
**note [5]** 15/21 64/13 82/25 98/11 127/23  
**noted [5]** 31/16 64/2 95/20 124/20  
 128/12  
**notes [1]** 98/6  
**nothing [17]** 15/9 21/6 39/15 41/1 41/2  
 69/18 71/15 71/21 74/15 74/23 83/14  
 90/4 90/9 93/21 108/3 119/22 131/24  
**notwithstanding [2]** 30/9 112/3  
**November [1]** 101/24  
**November 2015 [1]** 101/24  
**now-former [1]** 16/8  
**nude [3]** 114/17 115/6 118/12  
**number [5]** 18/11 53/15 67/1 77/25  
 80/24  
**Numerous [1]** 109/9  
**NXIVM [106]** 20/4 22/15 26/11 26/13  
 28/24 29/7 29/25 30/3 30/7 30/20 31/6  
 38/12 39/23 41/3 41/20 42/2 42/3 42/4  
 42/8 42/12 42/13 42/23 42/24 43/10  
 43/20 45/25 46/17 47/18 48/25 55/10  
 56/10 56/14 56/14 56/15 56/21 56/23  
 58/4 58/16 58/23 59/12 65/19 65/22

66/1 67/5 67/15 67/24 68/1 71/22 71/22  
 72/2 73/1 74/12 77/13 77/15 77/17 77/10  
 77/12 77/14 77/20 78/5 78/6 78/8 78/19  
 79/1 80/18 80/19 85/15 87/4 87/23  
 88/12 89/8 89/13 89/21 90/3 90/17  
 92/20 92/24 96/11 96/16 96/17 96/25  
 97/5 99/17 99/23 101/18 106/10 108/2  
 108/13 109/14 109/16 109/20 111/7  
 114/5 114/9 116/14 116/15 116/17  
 116/18 116/21 117/7 118/23 122/21  
 129/3 129/3 129/9 129/10  
**NXIVM's [21]** 14/17 15/6 15/25 28/21  
 29/10 31/13 48/15 52/1 55/23 89/20  
 89/23 90/4 90/9 96/23 108/8 108/24  
 109/12 109/22 110/2 110/14 117/4  
**NXIVM-affiliated [1]** 101/18  
**NXIVM-owned [1]** 58/4  
**NXIVM-related [1]** 56/14  
**NXIVM [1]** 11/24

**O**

o'clock [1] 51/25  
**oath [1]** 92/9  
**objection [5]** 5/16 6/19 66/9 66/16 92/7  
**objections [6]** 4/8 4/17 5/5 5/14 92/1  
 92/4  
**objectives [1]** 22/19  
**objects [1]** 98/6  
**obligated [2]** 63/7 124/16  
**obligation [1]** 75/15  
**obligations [2]** 103/3 127/17  
**obstacle [1]** 111/20  
**obtain [4]** 58/12 101/16 105/10 106/1  
**obtained [1]** 105/1  
**obvious [1]** 115/7  
**obviously [3]** 56/23 78/2 83/25  
**occupied [1]** 79/12  
**occurred [2]** 118/23 122/21  
**October [8]** 21/25 27/1 31/5 111/5  
 118/15 131/9 131/9 131/14  
**October 17 [1]** 27/1  
**October 2003 [1]** 111/5  
**October 2017 [1]** 118/15  
**October 27th [3]** 131/9 131/9 131/14  
**odds [1]** 46/15  
**of 2013 [1]** 59/4  
**offense [41]** 5/4 5/22 6/1 6/6 6/9 7/2 7/6  
 7/7 7/9 7/15 8/2 8/13 8/21 8/22 8/24 9/2  
 9/6 9/9 9/9 9/14 9/16 9/9 17 9/19 9/21  
 9/25 10/1 10/4 10/13 10/14 10/15 10/16  
 10/19 10/20 101/2 101/3 101/5 107/12  
 107/16 121/17 121/21 125/1  
**offenses [9]** 85/13 121/18 122/7 123/15  
 123/17 124/8 125/9 126/1 126/3  
**office [5]** 28/24 46/11 48/16 107/4  
 128/19  
**officer [4]** 4/9 29/3 130/3 130/6  
**OFFICIAL [1]** 1/23  
**often [3]** 19/12 91/4 97/2  
**old [5]** 34/11 36/1 46/14 54/23 67/12  
**Olmedo [2]** 115/25 116/6  
**once [11]** 10/19 15/7 29/9 52/5 60/3  
 60/18 81/9 81/12 81/14 85/16 127/5  
**one [66]** 6/20 8/4 8/12 9/15 11/7 12/8  
 12/11 13/21 16/5 18/10 19/11 21/22  
 22/13 22/20 22/20 23/19 26/21 30/20  
 31/25 33/17 36/2 38/6 39/19 39/24  
 41/17 41/19 43/14 45/11 45/20 48/21  
 48/24 51/2 52/5 54/18 64/11 64/17  
 71/14 71/24 72/10 77/21 79/2 79/4  
 79/10 83/3 83/3 84/4 87/5 88/25 94/18  
 95/24 98/16 101/12 103/10 105/24  
 107/19 109/12 109/22 110/9 114/14  
 117/15 121/19 123/23 125/12 126/23  
 130/11 130/25

ongoing [1] 30/15  
 online [1] 109/17  
**op [1]** 121/4  
**op-ed [1]** 121/4  
**open [8]** 37/12 43/11 68/11 69/11 78/3  
 111/20 130/21 131/12  
**opened [2]** 41/5 111/14  
**opening [2]** 46/10 128/14  
**openly [1]** 57/6  
**operate [1]** 122/13  
**operated [1]** 98/14  
**operation [2]** 71/21 87/18  
**opinion [4]** 39/14 39/17 40/8 68/19  
**opportunity [7]** 19/20 33/22 38/4 54/2  
 66/21 75/4 78/2  
**opposite [1]** 24/19  
**oral [1]** 127/23  
**orchestrating [1]** 55/9  
**order [10]** 31/19 64/6 68/15 70/21 81/17  
 85/23 103/9 126/24 127/9 127/11  
**ordered [3]** 68/13 68/23 98/18  
**orders [2]** 41/25 128/8  
**ordinarily [1]** 121/20  
**ordinary [2]** 85/14 126/3  
**organization [17]** 12/3 20/6 21/13 28/6  
 29/4 29/25 42/2 42/3 70/1 70/6 77/5  
 78/8 78/22 78/23 96/10 96/12 104/24  
**organizations [4]** 17/11 19/4 129/3  
 129/10  
**organizer [2]** 6/7 8/12  
**others' [1]** 15/12  
**otherwise [7]** 5/14 18/15 26/10 61/21  
 61/24 75/4 97/24  
**ought [1]** 67/23  
**out-of-pocket [2]** 15/17 15/24  
**outlined [1]** 5/10  
**outside [13]** 9/13 10/18 32/20 38/1  
 41/10 41/12 41/13 42/5 58/24 66/14  
 80/16 112/10 126/3  
**outstanding [1]** 6/20  
**overcame [1]** 38/13  
**overcome [2]** 39/4 111/20  
**overflow [1]** 2/24  
**overstate [1]** 109/18  
**overwhelming [2]** 24/17 95/20  
**overworked [1]** 23/7  
**owe [1]** 72/17  
**owed [6]** 42/21 46/24 47/17 58/6 97/6  
 102/7  
**own [12]** 14/22 15/13 30/17 55/14 59/21  
 70/17 70/24 91/25 92/4 97/6 104/2  
 121/14  
**owned [5]** 31/21 42/10 43/16 45/20 58/4  
**owner [1]** 84/8  
**ownership [1]** 83/15  
**owns [1]** 42/2

**P**

p.m [1] 64/2  
**pace [2]** 97/4 102/2  
**Pacific [1]** 42/11  
**paddling [1]** 88/17  
**page [15]** 25/11 29/6 49/12 49/17 50/9  
 52/8 63/19 70/3 70/3 70/4 86/18 89/16  
 92/1 110/15 129/13  
**page 15 [1]** 89/16  
**pages [7]** 70/3 82/20 82/21 82/21 83/7  
 83/7 89/4  
**paid [22]** 15/15 15/23 17/1 17/15 20/25  
 22/14 23/2 29/10 43/8 54/24 57/24  
 60/20 61/5 75/11 85/24 96/13 103/4  
 105/11 106/19 112/14 119/9 120/16  
**pain [13]** 30/19 36/9 36/20 37/16 38/25  
 40/18 40/21 54/22 61/15 65/19 67/4  
 67/9 95/1

<p><b>P</b></p> <p>Case 1:18-cr-00204-NCG Document 564 Filed 10/23/20 Page 147 of 194 PageID #: 17409</p> <p>painful [3] 38/22 39/10 53/10</p> <p>painting [1] 85/19</p> <p>pair [1] 45/20</p> <p>Pam [2] 61/7 61/9</p> <p>Pam's [6] 61/6 61/18 61/19 81/23 82/3 82/4</p> <p>Pamela [1] 61/3</p> <p>pancreatic [1] 27/3</p> <p>pandemic [5] 60/16 69/2 93/15 124/11 124/14</p> <p>panic [1] 35/19</p> <p>paper [1] 79/13</p> <p>papers [6] 66/22 69/21 69/25 81/5 81/12 127/24</p> <p>paperwork [1] 82/2</p> <p>paragraph [3] 98/7 98/12 103/5</p> <p>paralegal [1] 56/1</p> <p>parallel [1] 32/12</p> <p>pardon [2] 67/8 67/8</p> <p>paren [1] 26/25</p> <p>parents [6] 28/25 29/18 32/8 98/17 98/19 109/15</p> <p>Park [3] 1/18 59/12 62/13</p> <p>part [25] 4/24 9/12 10/17 17/20 21/10 24/14 26/6 26/13 35/22 36/6 58/25 74/2 81/13 82/16 82/17 83/2 83/7 86/13 91/3 104/5 105/1 107/17 113/16 115/19 115/21</p> <p>participant [2] 8/22 98/9</p> <p>participants [7] 2/22 8/13 8/16 8/25 97/9 102/19 129/9</p> <p>participate [3] 20/11 119/6 120/7</p> <p>participated [9] 7/20 15/1 20/4 30/23 37/6 39/2 99/19 110/6 113/11</p> <p>participating [1] 99/6</p> <p>participation [4] 6/13 6/25 90/14 114/19</p> <p>particular [7] 2/21 3/6 8/2 74/16 95/23 113/21 130/14</p> <p>particularly [9] 65/2 93/8 95/24 100/20 101/12 108/8 120/5 121/19 127/9</p> <p>parties [3] 3/17 46/9 130/7</p> <p>parties' [1] 100/4</p> <p>partner [3] 34/6 73/1 113/6</p> <p>partners [1] 109/2</p> <p>partners' [1] 109/3</p> <p>parts [1] 104/14</p> <p>party [2] 46/10 46/11</p> <p>passed [4] 18/23 27/6 82/14 116/6</p> <p>passionate [1] 38/15</p> <p>passport [1] 49/9</p> <p>past [3] 40/9 59/8 90/15</p> <p>patent [2] 31/21 31/23</p> <p>patents [1] 113/13</p> <p>paternity [1] 55/19</p> <p>patients [1] 37/2</p> <p>pattern [5] 90/22 96/1 105/1 107/13 120/1</p> <p>patterns [1] 38/13</p> <p>Pause [2] 62/7 84/24</p> <p>pawn [1] 117/1</p> <p>pay [30] 14/18 15/15 15/16 17/3 22/11 23/20 46/24 47/4 47/16 53/11 57/23 58/7 61/17 84/12 85/15 85/21 87/12 87/22 97/23 102/18 104/3 105/9 105/12 106/6 119/11 121/25 124/18 124/23 125/5 125/7</p> <p>payable [2] 126/19 126/25</p> <p>paycheck [1] 72/9</p> <p>paying [8] 16/1 49/15 55/20 56/8 71/17 81/25 85/24 102/6</p> <p>payment [5] 16/24 22/7 23/3 61/1 86/11</p> <p>payments [2] 61/2 96/14</p> <p>peace [1] 65/25</p> <p>peers [1] 45/19</p> <p>people [59] 2/15 10/12 10/16 10/20 10/23 17/10 19/5 17/12 25/3 25/8 30/17 32/18 36/17 39/11 40/3 41/14 41/15 41/17 42/6 42/22 42/24 43/2 46/23 49/2 54/14 57/21 58/14 65/16 67/17 67/20 67/25 68/4 69/19 70/13 71/22 72/24 73/2 74/1 74/3 75/3 75/9 75/24 78/4 78/6 78/8 78/12 78/22 79/11 79/24 80/1 80/11 84/5 84/20 87/3 87/20 89/8 94/16 103/3 116/16 122/24</p> <p>people's [1] 38/22</p> <p>per [5] 11/14 15/10 73/19 101/17 105/3</p> <p>perceived [8] 19/9 28/21 39/11 90/23 108/7 111/3 112/13 113/7</p> <p>percent [2] 22/25 49/16</p> <p>perception [1] 79/17</p> <p>perfect [1] 68/9</p> <p>perform [1] 22/9</p> <p>performance [2] 14/4 104/2</p> <p>performed [1] 15/16</p> <p>performing [1] 97/24</p> <p>perhaps [4] 37/14 73/13 82/20 113/8</p> <p>period [3] 56/12 73/15 83/11</p> <p>periods [1] 78/24</p> <p>permits [1] 124/18</p> <p>permitted [2] 83/11 96/19</p> <p>permitting [1] 128/23</p> <p>perpetrated [1] 96/1</p> <p>perpetuated [1] 110/7</p> <p>perpetuity [1] 81/14</p> <p>person [28] 3/4 11/3 11/7 11/14 11/14 14/12 15/20 21/15 23/21 27/1 37/10 40/2 40/4 50/16 50/15 51/13 53/22 67/5 68/1 68/1 72/16 82/14 83/19 100/22 104/23 107/25 128/25</p> <p>personal [15] 20/21 22/18 22/22 22/23 22/25 24/12 24/13 24/22 37/14 61/9 62/5 102/15 104/2 125/17 128/16</p> <p>personality [1] 78/17</p> <p>personally [4] 20/9 65/25 73/15 121/10</p> <p>persons [2] 79/22 124/10</p> <p>persuade [2] 18/14 56/7</p> <p>persuaded [3] 20/22 97/12 116/15</p> <p>persuading [1] 21/8</p> <p>pertain [1] 100/18</p> <p>pets [1] 59/14</p> <p>phone [1] 16/16</p> <p>phony [1] 57/10</p> <p>photographs [7] 88/17 97/18 97/23 109/1 114/17 115/7 118/12</p> <p>phrase [1] 83/21</p> <p>physical [1] 65/18</p> <p>physically [1] 111/21</p> <p>pick [1] 98/16</p> <p>pictures [1] 62/15</p> <p>pig [1] 42/4</p> <p>pillar [2] 45/19 51/12</p> <p>pinpoint [1] 34/4</p> <p>pioneer [1] 51/12</p> <p>piss [1] 29/23</p> <p>pitted [1] 53/3</p> <p>pivotal [1] 26/6</p> <p>place [6] 20/5 24/2 32/24 38/14 84/9 124/12</p> <p>placed [2] 95/9 126/2</p> <p>places [3] 21/9 71/7 124/6</p> <p>placing [1] 115/20</p> <p>plain [1] 67/17</p> <p>plainly [1] 117/6</p> <p>plaintiffs [1] 74/18</p> <p>plan [6] 22/19 33/23 49/16 81/13 111/11 111/19</p> <p>planned [1] 85/23</p> <p>planner [5] 48/14 49/7 49/17 49/22 51/7</p>	<p>planners [1] 50/3</p> <p>planning [4] 1/23/29 45/15 48/2 50/2</p> <p>plate [1] 27/25</p> <p>play [4] 8/17 28/2 71/19 73/11</p> <p>playbook [1] 53/19</p> <p>played [4] 20/2 20/15 53/20 73/24</p> <p>players [1] 28/3</p> <p>playing [1] 52/1</p> <p>Plaza [3] 1/4 1/12 1/23</p> <p>plea [3] 18/5 29/15 126/25</p> <p>pleaded [9] 7/4 7/15 8/4 9/4 9/23 66/12 80/23 96/5 123/7</p> <p>pled [3] 61/21 82/9 88/3</p> <p>plenty [1] 41/11</p> <p>PLLC [1] 1/18</p> <p>plugging [1] 111/21</p> <p>plus [3] 29/1 29/15 105/9</p> <p>pocket [2] 15/17 15/24</p> <p>point [24] 3/14 3/15 5/3 11/18 12/19 16/25 18/20 54/15 71/3 72/10 72/15 72/23 72/24 73/23 76/11 77/2 77/15 82/2 82/15 89/12 90/6 98/2 111/7 121/11</p> <p>point-blank [1] 18/20</p> <p>pointed [1] 79/2</p> <p>points [8] 34/23 69/25 75/12 76/9 88/5 88/6 109/24 125/2</p> <p>poison [1] 43/25</p> <p>poisoned [1] 32/21</p> <p>police [3] 12/6 31/6 58/21</p> <p>police [1] 30/4</p> <p>political [2] 29/23 108/11</p> <p>poor [1] 44/23</p> <p>popped [1] 103/1</p> <p>populations [1] 124/11</p> <p>Porter [2] 16/9 16/19</p> <p>portion [4] 43/16 58/10 92/11 92/12</p> <p>portrayed [2] 22/7 48/12</p> <p>poses [1] 124/10</p> <p>position [6] 14/1 14/15 30/10 70/21 91/5 121/25</p> <p>possession [1] 89/20</p> <p>possibility [2] 16/17 123/16</p> <p>possible [7] 7/9 26/23 51/2 103/1 109/17 130/23 131/3</p> <p>possibly [1] 29/16</p> <p>post [3] 32/15 120/24 126/21</p> <p>post-conviction [1] 120/24</p> <p>post-incarceration [1] 126/21</p> <p>posts [1] 24/16</p> <p>potential [1] 118/21</p> <p>power [12] 14/3 14/5 14/14 17/6 26/4 26/15 27/10 37/8 37/14 44/20 91/5 110/10</p> <p>powered [1] 109/20</p> <p>powerful [1] 108/25</p> <p>powerless [1] 58/13</p> <p>PR [1] 16/3</p> <p>practically [1] 13/20</p> <p>practice [1] 114/2</p> <p>pray [2] 44/1 44/1</p> <p>prayed [1] 29/9</p> <p>praying [3] 54/9 94/17 94/18</p> <p>pre [10] 3/23 3/25 4/9 4/16 5/6 10/22 70/5 78/5 130/7 130/8</p> <p>pre-Nxivm [1] 78/5</p> <p>pre-sentence [9] 3/23 3/25 4/9 4/16 5/6 10/22 70/5 70/5 130/7 130/8</p> <p>precarious [1] 104/4</p> <p>precedent [1] 95/16</p> <p>preclude [1] 125/17</p> <p>predator [1] 40/8</p> <p>predicament [1] 105/6</p> <p>prepared [3] 13/16 105/5 127/7</p> <p>preponderance [9] 50/5 100/11 103/23</p>
--	--

**P**  
Case 1:18-cr-00204-NCG Document 984 Filed 10/23/20  
preponderance... [6] 107/8 107/11  
107/15 112/5 113/2 113/20  
prerecorded [1] 64/16  
present [5] 1/20 2/12 67/4 90/15 127/10  
presentation [1] 13/12  
presented [1] 7/18  
presence [2] 103/5 128/13  
preserve [2] 66/8 66/9  
presided [2] 70/18 99/2  
press [1] 2/24  
pressure [6] 24/16 32/16 102/11 104/12  
104/21 109/13  
pressured [1] 104/15  
pressuring [1] 102/22  
pretended [1] 21/3  
pretrial [2] 68/10 93/14  
prevent [1] 97/16  
previous [1] 71/20  
preyed [1] 19/4  
pride [1] 37/12  
primarily [1] 65/1  
primary [1] 17/8  
princess [1] 34/21  
principled [1] 14/12  
priority [1] 22/20  
prison [13] 12/23 13/7 13/8 18/1 19/15  
29/16 33/11 44/5 44/6 57/12 69/2  
124/11 126/15  
prisoner [2] 58/3 58/3  
Prisons [1] 129/8  
Prisons' [1] 127/19  
private [4] 20/17 57/18 60/2 60/17  
privilege [6] 13/18 22/4 22/5 44/20  
107/25 110/13  
privileged [2] 67/21 94/16  
privileges [1] 14/19  
probation [23] 4/9 4/14 5/7 5/21 5/23  
6/12 6/24 7/17 9/5 66/23 83/12 85/11  
93/12 93/14 93/16 128/1 128/9 128/17  
128/18 128/23 129/6 130/2 130/5  
probationary [2] 68/15 80/13  
problem [1] 105/17  
problematic [1] 80/21  
problems [2] 68/9 68/24  
proceed [3] 3/10 65/14 66/4  
proceeded [1] 64/11  
proceeding [1] 95/10  
proceedings [6] 1/24 2/18 62/7 75/16  
84/24 132/2  
produced [2] 1/25 114/18  
professional [4] 24/12 67/14 74/25  
85/15  
professionals [1] 16/21  
profit [2] 42/12 43/12  
profound [1] 51/22  
profusely [1] 81/1  
program [1] 67/6  
Programs [2] 129/2 129/9  
prohibit [1] 18/25  
prohibited [1] 128/13  
prohibition [1] 129/6  
prohibits [1] 75/15  
project [1] 44/23  
projects [2] 20/23 51/16  
prominence [1] 44/20  
prominent [2] 48/10 108/24  
promise [1] 96/14  
promised [2] 85/15 85/21  
promises [2] 19/5 106/5  
promote [3] 91/8 101/4 121/17  
promoting [1] 122/4  
proof [4] 47/18 58/11 98/2 113/1  
propellant [1] 17/18

proper [1] 61/23  
properly [2] 189/25 1/27/3  
property [3] 34/23 58/4 74/13  
proposal [1] 22/18  
proposition [3] 99/10 99/12 104/20  
prosecute [3] 91/3 93/8 108/21  
prosecution [1] 59/18  
prosecutor [1] 27/18  
prospective [3] 97/2 97/15 97/20  
prostitute [1] 51/7  
protect [7] 12/11 18/2 55/11 59/22 101/6  
119/17 123/4  
protecting [1] 121/9  
protective [1] 3/8  
protested [2] 17/2 57/25  
protests [1] 114/23  
protocols [2] 2/20 2/20  
proud [2] 17/25 54/1  
provable [1] 71/12  
prove [4] 27/21 58/22 59/1 77/2  
proved [2] 47/10 50/6  
proven [3] 12/9 100/10 113/20  
provide [14] 22/14 63/6 74/19 76/21  
92/19 97/15 97/22 101/4 111/14 121/18  
128/8 128/20 131/4 131/10  
provided [13] 15/8 26/24 50/6 65/4  
74/24 91/25 93/15 98/3 102/12 103/14  
114/17 114/19 129/6  
provides [1] 7/6  
providing [4] 13/15 57/5 88/19 130/6  
provision [1] 9/20  
prudently [1] 45/23  
PSR [6] 7/17 92/1 92/7 96/24 98/6 98/7  
psychological [2] 57/22 65/17  
psychologically [1] 58/7  
psychotic [1] 16/7  
PTSD [2] 32/14 43/19  
public [10] 2/23 18/15 20/1 24/6 29/25  
57/19 63/4 101/6 117/25 123/4  
publicly [5] 51/3 57/2 57/3 109/14 114/6  
published [2] 111/6 118/16  
publishing [2] 109/16 115/14  
pulling [1] 30/15  
punish [1] 43/3  
punished [2] 14/21 49/1  
punishing [1] 108/7  
punishment [4] 101/4 121/18 122/11  
125/3  
punishments [1] 14/20  
punitive [1] 17/1  
purely [2] 31/18 112/23  
purporting [1] 87/7  
purpose [3] 67/16 81/19 81/20  
purposeful [1] 38/23  
purposes [4] 8/17 62/23 64/8 128/16  
pursuant [5] 5/25 6/4 105/25 129/5  
130/14  
pursued [1] 114/2  
pursuing [2] 30/4 31/20  
pursuit [4] 27/11 30/9 30/18 65/24  
pushed [1] 23/6  
pushing [2] 24/11 24/18  
put [16] 16/2 21/7 29/18 37/12 44/25  
45/13 64/10 66/21 72/4 76/11 81/11  
104/22 109/13 116/17 118/20 121/25  
puts [1] 71/18  
putting [1] 16/22  
pyramid [5] 96/12 97/7 97/8 97/10  
122/16

## Q

questioned [1] 52/6  
questions [1] 23/18  
quickly [3] 12/9 120/13 127/11  
quit [2] 46/19 51/24

quite [4] 33/24 57/2 57/12 77/16  
quote [7] 4/6 6/1 10/7 6/8 10/8 13/8 16/8  
8/16 14/6 29/11 69/15 70/12 90/18 92/2  
96/16 96/16 96/25 98/1 98/8 98/9 98/18  
98/18 98/24 98/25 101/9 101/10 101/17  
101/17 101/25 101/25 102/1 102/1  
102/4 102/8 102/15 102/15 102/18  
102/19 102/25 102/25 103/9 103/9  
103/10 103/12 103/19 103/19 103/19  
103/20 104/16 104/16 104/17 104/17  
105/5 105/5 105/8 105/9 105/16 105/17  
105/19 105/20 105/22 105/22 108/13  
108/15 108/15 108/16 108/18 109/13  
109/15 109/17 109/18 109/20 109/21  
115/20  
quoted [3] 46/3 111/7 115/19  
quotes [1] 69/16  
quoting [1] 70/11

## R

race [1] 46/11  
racketeering [3] 99/2 99/2 99/7  
raided [1] 31/5  
raise [2] 13/9 32/25  
raised [3] 14/14 14/19 56/24  
ramifications [1] 40/10  
rampant [2] 31/2 69/3  
ran [1] 49/12  
random [1] 78/13  
range [14] 5/5 10/2 10/5 78/11 95/12  
95/22 103/6 123/13 123/20 123/21  
123/22 125/1 125/4 126/17  
ranging [1] 34/1  
Raniere [124] 7/19 12/20 13/24 14/14  
14/20 14/24 16/9 17/11 18/18 18/21  
19/7 19/12 19/16 19/23 19/25 24/20  
26/17 31/6 31/22 32/2 38/18 40/20  
40/25 41/10 41/25 44/2 46/18 49/1  
54/23 60/3 60/18 65/2 71/7 71/9 71/19  
72/8 72/23 72/25 73/10 77/8 77/9 77/12  
79/21 81/17 81/21 81/23 88/23 89/9  
90/2 90/24 91/12 91/15 91/19 91/23  
91/25 92/3 92/10 92/13 92/17 92/23  
93/1 96/7 96/10 96/15 96/20 96/21  
96/23 97/8 97/9 97/12 98/1 98/17 99/2  
99/11 99/17 99/23 106/3 106/14 107/3  
107/7 107/13 108/2 108/7 109/5 109/13  
110/8 110/9 111/7 111/9 112/1 112/12  
113/6 113/14 113/14 113/16 114/2  
115/10 115/12 115/15 116/2 116/5  
116/9 116/24 118/13 119/2 119/4 119/5  
119/11 119/13 119/18 120/2 120/10  
120/15 120/20 120/24 121/1 121/4  
121/5 121/9 121/10 123/9 126/8 130/24  
131/8  
Raniere's [37] 14/6 15/11 17/8 17/22  
18/5 19/4 65/11 72/1 91/14 97/10 98/3  
98/21 98/22 99/8 100/9 104/15 106/18  
106/24 107/17 108/19 109/1 110/11  
110/14 112/16 113/4 116/10 117/1  
118/6 119/6 119/17 120/7 121/7 122/2  
122/9 122/19 122/20 126/6  
Raniere-associated [2] 108/2 113/14  
Raniere-enemy [1] 120/10  
ranks [3] 36/16 36/18 57/1  
rapidly [2] 56/23 108/18  
rate [3] 17/1 22/2 49/15  
rather [6] 8/21 44/22 84/11 95/15  
103/16 122/14  
re [1] 91/22  
re-characterize [1] 91/22  
reached [2] 32/5 50/13  
reaching [5] 22/19 62/22 115/5 118/8  
118/11  
read [17] 18/24 36/3 38/10 39/5 41/14

**R**  
Case 1:18-cr-00204-NCG Document 984 Filed 10/23/20 Page 149 of 154 PageID #: 17411  
read... [12] 50/8 50/14 50/24 54/21 59/2  
65/12 69/12 90/11 94/3 100/4 128/2  
128/4  
reading [6] 9/7 33/23 36/1 37/21 39/8  
94/3  
ready [4] 81/6 93/22 122/15 126/12  
real [2] 58/9 113/19  
reality [1] 61/8  
realize [2] 52/7 58/9  
realized [1] 34/17  
really [10] 34/15 34/16 36/16 38/24  
39/18 44/3 44/4 45/9 62/4 69/9  
realm [1] 126/3  
reason [8] 19/8 22/20 22/21 58/9 61/8  
75/23 80/19 111/19  
reasonable [5] 95/17 95/22 98/3 127/11  
127/13  
reasons [2] 7/3 124/5  
rebuild [1] 60/22  
Reccoppa [1] 11/15  
receipt [1] 114/24  
receipts [1] 71/13  
receive [5] 20/12 22/7 23/3 114/8  
130/12  
received [15] 22/4 42/15 64/14 64/15  
65/21 88/11 88/13 89/6 89/10 90/3  
114/11 115/24 116/3 117/15 117/20  
receiving [4] 89/15 115/3 117/17 121/12  
recent [1] 18/6  
recently [1] 61/6  
Recess [1] 63/18  
recipient [2] 117/7 117/8  
recipients [1] 117/14  
reckless [1] 16/5  
recognized [1] 58/21  
recognizing [1] 15/11  
recommends [1] 5/21  
recommitment [1] 119/6  
recommitted [1] 83/24  
record [11] 57/19 64/11 64/13 66/10  
74/15 76/8 80/7 109/6 109/25 115/21  
128/3  
recorded [2] 1/24 11/4  
records [4] 50/4 71/13 128/10 128/24  
recoup [1] 72/7  
recover [1] 43/20  
recovered [1] 15/22  
recruit [1] 97/5  
recruited [9] 19/24 85/14 87/6 96/14  
97/1 97/11 104/14 104/24 106/1  
recruiting [1] 79/11  
recruitment [1] 104/18  
red [1] 24/24  
reduction [2] 9/24 9/25  
reference [3] 50/14 66/14 82/22  
referenced [2] 83/3 115/24  
referred [2] 19/21 86/2  
reflect [6] 10/23 19/15 64/22 101/3  
121/16 126/10  
reflected [2] 86/4 126/2  
reflecting [1] 39/2  
reflection [1] 40/23  
reflects [2] 33/14 116/4  
refund [1] 21/3  
refusal [1] 104/3  
refuse [3] 17/20 42/1 42/1  
refused [6] 15/18 17/3 21/3 57/23 86/10  
103/24  
refuses [1] 19/2  
regard [5] 11/6 51/12 64/25 67/1 91/11  
regarding [2] 9/6 64/21  
regardless [2] 107/17 123/11  
regularly [1] 111/25

reincorporate [1] 66/14  
reiterate [1] 11/25  
related [4] 31/6 56/14 70/5 121/21  
relates [1] 88/7  
relationship [10] 17/24 42/8 46/20 73/10  
96/21 99/23 103/19 106/3 106/14  
111/12  
relationships [4] 55/15 75/9 96/18 96/19  
release [6] 93/14 126/21 128/2 128/5  
128/6 128/22  
released [1] 24/6  
relentless [4] 26/22 27/11 28/5 30/18  
relevant [9] 92/12 99/20 100/10 100/20  
107/23 115/4 119/14 119/25 120/14  
reliant [2] 106/10 116/16  
relieve [1] 17/19  
relieved [1] 69/13  
reluctant [1] 91/4  
rely [1] 100/21  
relying [1] 80/11  
remain [4] 14/11 39/7 120/8 126/7  
remaining [3] 74/8 117/22 126/9  
remains [2] 121/7 125/11  
remand [1] 127/7  
remanding [1] 127/21  
remarks [3] 86/2 88/6 91/21  
remember [4] 16/14 17/19 42/6 42/9  
remorse [4] 18/4 18/15 33/9 123/6  
remorseful [1] 81/10  
remove [2] 44/15 60/11  
removed [2] 14/18 49/9  
renewable [1] 45/18  
renounce [1] 12/19  
renounces [1] 69/22  
rent [2] 14/19 58/6  
repaid [2] 56/19 56/19  
repayment [1] 49/16  
Repeat [1] 62/8  
repeated [1] 126/5  
repeatedly [7] 55/7 86/16 100/21 101/21  
105/18 108/5 119/22  
repentance [1] 66/1  
repetitive [1] 81/5  
replaced [1] 19/14  
replied [2] 4/4 102/24  
reply [3] 89/3 89/4 89/16  
report [15] 3/24 3/25 4/9 4/16 5/6 5/15  
10/22 58/20 59/13 68/10 70/5 103/5  
128/13 130/7 130/8  
reported [4] 1/22 103/7 120/25 128/12  
reportedly [1] 111/8  
reporter [4] 1/23 11/20 29/6 31/3  
reporting [1] 68/10  
reports [1] 59/17  
repossessed [1] 58/4  
represent [1] 61/5  
representation [3] 70/8 70/9 76/20  
represented [3] 98/21 100/23 117/21  
representing [4] 1/10 1/15 67/12 101/16  
reputation [6] 32/8 45/15 48/19 51/10  
51/10 51/18  
request [5] 108/21 112/1 128/1 128/8  
130/15  
requested [1] 93/12  
requesting [3] 68/16 88/14 114/15  
requests [8] 85/4 89/6 114/8 114/11  
123/15 130/13 131/2 131/4  
require [1] 95/16  
required [6] 3/20 85/16 97/15 97/22  
98/23 105/12  
research [1] 77/22  
resides [1] 54/3  
resigned [2] 36/23 42/10  
resolve [1] 131/19  
resonates [1] 36/22

resort [1] 15/15  
resources [1] 11/5 18/21 20/10 32/4  
36/10 79/10 84/12 95/5 122/16  
respect [17] 68/9 69/7 71/3 71/4 75/13  
76/19 86/16 91/9 101/4 101/13 101/14  
109/24 121/17 122/1 122/4 122/4  
122/10  
respected [1] 45/19  
respectfully [3] 85/4 93/3 93/11  
respects [1] 68/3  
respond [3] 32/3 88/21 91/24  
responded [3] 4/16 4/17 121/1  
responding [1] 74/6  
response [3] 33/8 75/12 82/21  
responses [1] 82/23  
responsibilities [1] 105/13  
responsibility [6] 9/24 10/21 17/13  
17/19 24/24 92/22  
responsible [4] 17/16 45/16 53/25 62/2  
rest [3] 18/22 60/6 70/16  
restitution [8] 126/22 128/8 130/12  
130/15 130/18 130/25 131/2 131/13  
restricted [1] 68/23  
restriction [1] 93/2  
result [5] 40/1 62/3 79/13 111/9 116/15  
resulting [1] 100/16  
results [1] 73/25  
resume [3] 36/12 62/19 63/17  
retained [1] 110/10  
retainer [1] 29/1  
retaliation [3] 19/22 28/11 47/14  
retarded [2] 53/10 53/12  
retract [1] 90/14  
return [3] 14/4 88/14 114/16  
returned [2] 114/10 118/13  
returning [1] 105/18  
returns [3] 32/6 61/9 128/11  
revenge [4] 28/11 47/14 59/16 110/3  
revenue [1] 102/20  
revenues [1] 48/19  
reverse [1] 90/14  
review [2] 10/12 116/24  
reviewed [2] 3/22 100/3  
revised [1] 10/23  
rhetorical [1] 72/19  
Ricardo [1] 115/25  
Rick [4] 29/5 108/13 112/16 120/10  
RICO [1] 73/19  
rid [1] 35/3  
ride [1] 14/1  
ridiculed [1] 48/17  
rightfully [1] 47/17  
righting [1] 15/12  
rights [2] 74/18 97/18  
rings [1] 32/19  
rise [2] 63/16 110/7  
risk [4] 2/22 68/14 116/18 124/13  
risked [3] 16/19 16/20 16/22  
rituals [1] 113/19  
RMR [1] 1/22  
Roger [1] 29/25  
role [14] 6/6 6/11 6/23 8/9 8/18 8/23  
20/2 56/7 99/18 99/22 104/18 107/5  
111/4 112/4  
roles [4] 15/7 34/8 34/24 34/25  
RONALD [2] 1/16 2/11  
room [3] 1/23 94/25 98/19  
Ross [6] 29/5 108/13 108/13 108/22  
112/16 120/10  
Ross's [1] 108/18  
roster [1] 89/22  
rotating [1] 96/17  
row [1] 20/25  
rule [2] 17/6 31/17  
ruled [1] 31/24

<b>R</b>	secretary [3] 45/9 45/9 45/12 secret [1] 41/14 31/18 section [18] 1/2/5 6/5 8/10 9/17 64/5 77/24 85/10 95/19 96/8 98/11 100/1 100/13 100/24 100/25 119/15 124/17 124/18 124/20 secure [1] 87/19 secured [1] 87/2 see [20] 7/23 13/3 17/20 18/3 19/2 25/8 26/19 27/23 37/20 38/6 41/13 45/1 45/3 56/2 73/16 73/23 78/13 86/10 94/19 94/19 seeing [1] 24/24 seek [1] 117/1 seeking [3] 119/2 122/5 122/7 seem [1] 81/22 sees [2] 84/7 84/14 seized [1] 57/8 select [2] 14/2 125/13 self [12] 23/8 25/1 34/15 34/19 37/23 38/13 40/13 45/17 77/16 77/20 96/11 96/11 self-deprecating [1] 34/15 self-esteem [3] 23/8 25/1 34/19 self-funded [1] 77/20 self-help [1] 96/11 self-loathing [2] 38/13 40/13 self-made [1] 45/17 self-styled [1] 96/11 self-sustained [1] 77/16 selfish [3] 39/18 40/7 47/1 sell [1] 40/16 semester [1] 87/13 send [4] 89/17 111/13 111/17 118/15 sense [7] 37/23 38/12 72/14 80/12 116/16 120/7 122/18 sent [13] 29/6 58/5 86/6 88/24 89/7 111/17 115/15 115/17 116/2 116/5 116/6 117/1 118/13 sentence [62] 3/23 3/25 4/9 4/16 5/6 7/23 10/22 11/19 44/5 62/22 63/1 64/6 66/22 68/6 69/2 70/5 79/9 85/4 85/8 85/11 85/11 93/9 93/12 93/16 93/17 93/24 95/13 95/17 95/21 99/20 100/17 100/20 101/1 101/3 101/5 101/8 115/2 119/15 119/24 121/15 121/16 122/13 122/23 123/3 123/11 123/14 123/16 123/19 124/1 124/3 124/14 125/1 125/12 125/12 125/19 126/10 126/11 126/14 126/15 127/1 130/7 130/8 sentenced [5] 19/22 33/10 100/23 126/12 127/3 sentences [6] 95/22 123/13 123/20 123/21 123/22 123/24 sentencing [44] 1/7 2/2 3/4 3/10 3/12 3/13 3/18 3/22 3/23 4/1 4/3 4/25 5/25 6/5 7/5 7/10 7/11 8/6 9/8 11/1 13/16 40/14 40/17 62/19 62/24 64/8 74/23 83/2 85/9 86/14 88/7 90/7 93/19 95/8 95/14 95/18 100/4 100/12 100/21 105/21 123/14 125/22 131/8 131/19 sentencings [1] 131/17 separate [1] 108/17 separated [1] 71/11 September [13] 1/5 4/4 4/5 4/6 31/11 36/23 59/4 69/13 83/1 83/4 115/15 116/9 121/13 September 14th [1] 4/4 September 2015 [1] 31/11 September 2016 [1] 36/23 September 2017 [3] 115/15 116/9 121/13 September 22nd [1] 4/5 September 28th [1] 4/6 series [2] 76/23 90/13	serious [8] 57/11 74/17 93/10 107/20 112/7 113/12 121/20 125/12 seriously [1] 59/3 seriousness [4] 101/3 121/17 125/9 125/15 serve [1] 122/23 served [3] 32/2 96/22 126/22 service [5] 22/14 83/24 83/25 88/1 97/6 services [3] 16/24 96/15 113/3 serving [1] 21/12 servitude [1] 14/16 set [2] 8/5 26/19 SETH [1] 1/11 sets [1] 124/20 settle [2] 61/1 61/18 settled [3] 44/10 61/18 100/11 settlement [2] 60/3 60/17 seven [2] 32/11 43/8 several [9] 57/14 59/17 66/24 69/25 90/11 97/25 100/25 103/8 117/9 severe [4] 44/24 74/1 74/3 104/13 severely [1] 68/23 severity [1] 126/17 sex [16] 56/23 69/23 69/23 79/11 79/18 91/2 91/15 98/1 98/15 99/4 99/4 99/10 99/12 99/16 113/23 122/21 sexual [5] 24/20 96/18 96/19 116/10 120/22 sexually [2] 97/18 97/22 shall [7] 128/7 128/8 128/18 128/21 128/25 129/4 129/7 shame [1] 40/12 shamed [1] 47/1 share [3] 13/15 53/16 121/3 shared [2] 20/18 107/23 sheer [1] 56/21 shield [3] 81/17 81/21 82/16 shields [1] 69/4 shifts [1] 16/13 shines [1] 120/15 shoes [2] 45/21 45/21 short [3] 29/16 56/12 103/23 shortly [3] 41/22 55/22 115/13 shoulder [3] 12/22 15/23 32/21 show [1] 86/15 showed [3] 30/6 43/16 59/4 shower [2] 34/9 35/2 showing [1] 81/17 shown [1] 122/10 shows [1] 101/20 shunned [2] 36/18 48/17 shunning [1] 42/9 shut [3] 42/13 84/10 117/19 sick [5] 34/10 36/7 36/19 42/18 58/18 side [5] 26/18 46/13 48/13 65/5 111/8 sign [1] 92/15 signed [2] 22/1 49/8 significance [1] 109/18 significant [6] 74/23 79/5 85/10 91/7 91/18 93/9 significantly [2] 74/18 89/11 signing [1] 128/21 silence [11] 28/21 30/8 89/19 90/23 91/6 108/24 109/12 109/15 110/13 113/7 116/10 silent [1] 117/22 similar [2] 6/14 124/4 simple [2] 67/18 77/15 simply [11] 19/7 69/10 70/14 74/5 74/5 79/24 82/15 87/17 89/9 92/24 125/4 simultaneous [1] 61/22 sincerity [1] 123/7 single [3] 49/5 59/21 84/11 sink [1] 40/8 sister [4] 17/7 42/16 56/13 67/15
----------	--	---

**S**pace [3] 13/15 37/12 37/17  
speaker [6] 46/1  
speaking [6] 11/17 19/1 43/3 74/4 74/5  
109/14  
special [12] 1/20 2/7 21/22 44/24 53/11  
53/18 112/14 112/25 126/19 128/2  
128/5 129/11  
specialized [1] 112/24  
specific [4] 10/16 107/10 113/18 113/19  
specifically [4] 20/13 79/3 88/15 116/24  
specified [1] 102/7  
specifies [1] 8/14  
speechless [1] 104/11  
spell [1] 24/4  
spend [4] 18/22 53/25 79/10 79/13  
spending [2] 45/22 127/19  
spent [9] 18/20 20/20 21/12 39/1 41/5  
58/25 67/13 71/4 113/2  
spilled [1] 41/19  
spin [1] 28/1  
spite [1] 24/22  
sponsor [1] 20/22  
spread [2] 57/3 58/23  
spy [2] 112/12 112/15  
square [1] 57/17  
square-foot [1] 57/17  
Sr [1] 28/18  
staff [3] 2/23 3/6 3/8  
Stage [3] 34/9 35/9 35/9  
stalking [1] 117/10  
stand [9] 26/16 33/10 40/1 40/5 51/14  
93/25 98/4 123/8 126/11  
standard [2] 17/3 129/12  
standing [3] 26/8 94/21 95/25  
stands [2] 81/6 123/9  
started [7] 28/8 34/13 34/15 45/12 58/2  
59/3 114/4  
starting [2] 15/3 85/20  
starts [1] 33/4  
state [11] 2/4 4/11 32/2 32/22 35/5  
56/17 58/19 98/12 98/24 104/23 104/23  
statement [27] 11/19 13/16 19/1 24/1  
24/6 24/6 50/16 60/6 64/18 65/9 65/12  
74/25 79/23 87/12 94/1 95/8 95/9  
102/10 102/16 103/21 104/5 105/15  
115/21 117/22 117/25 118/4 118/21  
statements [14] 11/4 39/5 63/4 63/6  
64/14 64/16 64/22 65/1 66/12 79/5 85/6  
100/7 109/9 128/20  
states [23] 1/1 1/2 1/8 1/11 2/3 4/13  
7/24 9/13 10/18 48/1 48/8 64/4 85/17  
87/20 92/20 95/19 101/13 105/15  
105/25 112/19 112/22 124/17 127/2  
stating [1] 24/7  
status [8] 14/2 87/4 97/10 102/21 108/6  
110/1 111/3 126/6  
statuses [1] 106/8  
statute [1] 81/9  
statutes [1] 78/2  
statutory [10] 68/19 95/18 123/23  
123/25 125/8 125/13 125/23 125/23  
126/9 126/19  
stay [5] 33/2 33/13 44/6 51/22 103/9  
steadfast [1] 126/7  
stenography [1] 1/24  
step [3] 3/11 11/1 84/15  
Stephen [3] 90/25 108/9 120/9  
steps [1] 84/7  
stifled [1] 24/11  
stifling [2] 110/5 122/17  
still [24] 11/16 12/16 12/21 16/14 17/16  
18/16 19/22 24/2 27/13 36/21 39/9  
42/15 45/3 45/20 47/3 50/11 51/13  
61/18 62/14 67/17 70/25 78/9 91/17  
107/23

stint [1] 29/16  
stole [1] 19/7  
stolen [1] 74/13  
Stone [1] 30/1  
stood [2] 41/15 41/17  
stop [17] 18/13 19/6 25/8 27/12 27/20  
30/14 30/19 31/20 48/18 50/7 50/25  
51/19 51/19 58/19 116/19 116/21  
120/12  
stopped [8] 15/4 19/6 38/17 45/11 50/23  
50/23 81/13 81/15  
stories [4] 13/4 48/12 48/23 49/6  
storing [1] 57/7  
story [2] 31/4 55/18  
straits [2] 101/23 106/7  
strange [1] 72/21  
strategically [1] 47/20  
strategy [1] 20/15  
Street [1] 1/16  
stress [3] 12/12 32/15 35/4  
strikes [1] 80/11  
strong [1] 93/5  
stronger [1] 121/2  
strongest [1] 27/1  
strongly [1] 90/13  
structure [1] 77/12  
struggle [1] 59/24  
struggles [1] 39/4  
students [1] 15/15  
styled [1] 96/11  
stymied [1] 111/19  
subject [3] 9/8 115/16 124/16  
subjected [2] 14/25 104/22  
submission [5] 70/4 76/12 83/3 86/15  
130/17  
submissions [6] 6/17 71/7 82/23 88/8  
100/4 105/21  
submit [2] 127/23 130/16  
submits [1] 93/11  
submitted [8] 4/2 50/18 50/25 73/22  
77/25 100/5 100/6 105/15  
subsequently [2] 114/8 119/4  
substantial [5] 9/12 10/17 113/1 125/16  
125/24  
substantiate [1] 61/10  
subtotal [1] 9/22  
succeed [1] 22/21  
succeeding [1] 23/4  
success [4] 19/6 67/25 129/2 129/9  
successful [3] 68/4 76/13 111/24  
suddenly [1] 16/15  
sue [3] 29/8 43/9 109/13  
sued [8] 27/4 43/1 43/5 47/25 49/19  
51/2 53/19 109/16  
suffer [4] 43/19 47/7 84/7 117/19  
suffered [2] 16/7 51/4  
suffering [6] 84/5 84/6 84/14 84/16  
84/19 86/9  
sufficient [3] 62/22 64/7 102/20  
sufficiently [1] 77/2  
suggest [3] 90/13 92/22 107/9  
suggested [5] 5/24 7/19 29/8 33/8 125/4  
suggesting [3] 104/17 107/13 108/4  
suggestion [2] 29/20 117/5  
suggests [9] 6/8 91/12 91/18 101/10  
103/16 104/25 105/21 106/23 107/3  
suicide [2] 30/12 30/21  
suing [1] 43/3  
suit [1] 31/9  
Suite [2] 1/16 1/18  
suits [2] 45/21 75/15  
SULLIVAN [8] 1/16 2/11 64/9 65/7 66/6  
76/22 93/20 93/21  
sum [3] 61/1 61/4 104/14  
Sunday [2] 49/12 49/17

<b>S</b>	<p>supervised [4] 126/21 128/2 128/4 128/5</p> <p>supervision [2] 58/15 129/12</p> <p>supervisor [3] 6/7 8/12 34/25</p> <p>supervisory [2] 8/8 23/8</p> <p>supplanted [1] 14/16</p> <p>support [25] 29/20 37/17 54/25 55/20 56/8 58/2 58/12 60/3 60/17 60/19 61/2 61/5 61/24 65/21 91/12 91/22 100/5 102/1 102/8 104/20 109/19 110/2 114/2 115/12 126/7</p> <p>supported [5] 27/14 72/25 91/19 93/1 113/1</p> <p>supporters [1] 57/15</p> <p>supporting [1] 18/18</p> <p>suppose [1] 77/14</p> <p>supposed [3] 14/20 20/20 23/16</p> <p>supposedly [3] 20/17 105/2 116/15</p> <p>suppressive [1] 26/11</p> <p>Supreme [1] 95/16</p> <p>surface [1] 41/4</p> <p>surgery [1] 15/23</p> <p>surprised [1] 103/17</p> <p>surprisingly [1] 117/14</p> <p>surrender [2] 127/9 127/12</p> <p>surveillance [1] 112/21</p> <p>survive [2] 23/16 49/22</p> <p>Susan [2] 38/8 50/14</p> <p>susceptible [1] 104/24</p> <p>suspect [1] 130/24</p> <p>suspected [1] 31/15</p> <p>sustained [1] 77/16</p> <p>sweeping [1] 71/8</p> <p>sword [3] 103/3 110/13 126/6</p> <p>Sylvie [4] 18/10 57/4 64/18 65/10</p> <p>symbol [1] 98/20</p> <p>Syndrome [2] 74/1 74/4</p> <p>system [4] 29/12 31/16 109/11 122/6</p>
<b>T</b>	<p>table [1] 10/4</p> <p>tables [1] 45/13</p> <p>takings [1] 126/17</p> <p>talents [1] 87/8</p> <p>TANYA [2] 1/13 2/6</p> <p>targeted [2] 18/7 97/3</p> <p>tasked [1] 16/8</p> <p>tasks [2] 24/16 97/24</p> <p>tax [7] 61/9 61/23 81/21 88/2 88/4 106/25 128/11</p> <p>taxable [1] 103/6</p> <p>taxes [2] 61/21 82/6</p> <p>Taylor [1] 45/21</p> <p>teach [4] 15/14 15/17 15/20 53/25</p> <p>teaches [1] 30/20</p> <p>teachings [1] 109/23</p> <p>team [1] 59/18</p> <p>technical [1] 68/19</p> <p>telephone [1] 129/1</p> <p>ten [6] 11/14 11/17 20/3 54/12 59/8 123/23</p> <p>tens [1] 71/23</p> <p>tense [1] 67/4</p> <p>term [5] 39/23 60/23 68/15 69/3 80/13</p> <p>terms [10] 68/1 68/12 69/24 86/3 93/3 93/13 101/22 103/15 103/24 131/13</p> <p>terrified [3] 50/24 52/4 58/17</p> <p>terror [2] 28/20 56/21</p> <p>testified [7] 26/12 43/14 92/9 108/19 111/15 114/12 120/2</p> <p>testimony [8] 20/23 85/7 100/9 112/3 112/13 112/17 112/25 120/5</p> <p>text [2] 115/23 116/2</p> <p>thanked [1] 29/9</p> <p>the Court [1] 56/1 57/2 60/2 60/3 60/10</p> <p>theft [2] 87/25 117/10</p> <p>theme [2] 113/5 113/8</p> <p>themselves [2] 97/18 122/24</p> <p>theory [2] 8/7 81/20</p> <p>therapy [1] 43/24</p> <p>therefore [7] 9/1 9/13 10/14 96/7 107/6 114/1 124/8</p> <p>thi [1] 95/10</p> <p>thief [1] 12/16</p> <p>thinking [3] 36/9 58/20 79/8</p> <p>thinks [2] 12/20 67/22</p> <p>third [3] 76/16 76/23 86/1</p> <p>thirds [1] 48/18</p> <p>thoughts [2] 34/13 115/16</p> <p>thousand [1] 47/24</p> <p>thousands [3] 16/2 96/13 113/2</p> <p>thrashed [1] 16/15</p> <p>threat [3] 90/23 117/13 124/9</p> <p>threaten [2] 75/8 117/6</p> <p>threatened [2] 15/19 117/15</p> <p>threatening [11] 59/9 88/23 89/17 110/3 110/5 115/17 116/5 116/25 117/15 117/17 118/14</p> <p>threats [1] 113/7</p> <p>three [24] 5/25 6/13 6/20 6/25 7/10 7/13 11/3 35/10 35/11 47/25 49/6 49/25 50/13 50/19 58/5 66/23 71/11 71/16 75/12 105/3 109/1 109/4 126/16 126/20</p> <p>three-level [6] 5/25 6/13 6/20 6/25 7/10 7/13</p> <p>thrived [1] 38/23</p> <p>Throughout [2] 20/3 54/24</p> <p>thrown [1] 31/12</p> <p>tied [1] 22/18</p> <p>Time's [1] 54/7</p> <p>timelines [1] 32/13</p> <p>timer [1] 11/15</p> <p>timid [1] 13/21</p> <p>tireless [1] 65/23</p> <p>title [2] 14/4 95/19</p> <p>titles [1] 23/12</p> <p>TN [1] 21/25</p> <p>today [23] 11/24 26/8 33/23 35/22 36/22 40/15 63/3 63/9 64/17 64/18 68/10 68/12 71/1 74/5 85/21 89/2 89/18 91/21 94/16 94/21 94/25 100/7 104/8</p> <p>together [8] 14/24 19/8 27/22 61/20 67/6 72/4 116/21 124/6</p> <p>Toni [3] 26/2 26/10 27/6</p> <p>took [10] 4/22 13/25 16/13 16/15 19/1 35/8 56/6 89/24 98/4 106/6</p> <p>tools [1] 118/22</p> <p>top [4] 12/14 49/6 72/5 97/8</p> <p>total [9] 5/22 6/9 7/2 9/25 10/1 10/4 10/18 106/21 124/19</p> <p>totally [1] 48/20</p> <p>toughest [1] 21/10</p> <p>Tourette's [3] 73/22 74/1 74/3</p> <p>toward [1] 17/5</p> <p>towards [1] 15/11</p> <p>town [1] 48/10</p> <p>townhouse [1] 58/4</p> <p>track [3] 46/11 46/13 130/23</p> <p>tracking [1] 112/24</p> <p>traded [1] 48/4</p> <p>trades [4] 71/18 71/25 72/5 72/11</p> <p>trading [1] 72/18</p> <p>traffic [1] 16/18</p> <p>trafficking [10] 17/22 69/23 69/23 91/16 99/4 99/4 99/11 99/13 99/16 122/21</p> <p>tragedy [1] 118/21</p> <p>trailer [1] 46/13</p> <p>trained [1] 16/21</p> <p>training [4] 15/18 16/7 20/11 41/16</p> <p>training [2] 15/17 20/24</p> <p>transcript [4] 1/7 1/24 92/10 92/12</p> <p>Transcription [1] 1/25</p> <p>transfer [1] 71/15</p> <p>transformational [1] 118/22</p> <p>transitioning [1] 34/7</p> <p>translated [1] 113/13</p> <p>transmission [1] 11/5</p> <p>transportation [1] 22/12</p> <p>transported [1] 8/15</p> <p>transporting [2] 6/3 8/18</p> <p>trash [1] 46/13</p> <p>trauma [1] 12/12</p> <p>Traumatic [1] 32/15</p> <p>traumatized [1] 117/23</p> <p>travel [1] 15/18</p> <p>traveled [1] 119/4</p> <p>treasured [1] 55/13</p> <p>treated [1] 15/25</p> <p>tremendous [2] 38/25 102/11</p> <p>tremendously [1] 83/14</p> <p>trend [1] 117/24</p> <p>trespassing [1] 27/16</p> <p>trial [19] 7/18 29/15 32/11 43/14 65/11 71/2 79/1 79/15 79/21 85/7 92/8 98/4 99/1 100/9 100/18 100/22 108/19 118/6 120/21</p> <p>tribute [1] 97/23</p> <p>tried [6] 39/3 47/13 88/24 91/21 116/21 120/9</p> <p>triggered [1] 27/25</p> <p>trip [1] 31/4</p> <p>tripping [1] 28/12</p> <p>trivial [1] 16/24</p> <p>trouble [1] 60/8</p> <p>troubled [3] 80/21 108/4 112/5</p> <p>troubling [2] 31/16 113/8</p> <p>truce [1] 45/3</p> <p>true [18] 13/4 30/24 30/24 32/7 40/11 41/7 41/9 41/11 41/13 54/2 56/11 58/25 65/3 79/19 89/9 95/24 97/19 115/1</p> <p>truly [6] 13/2 24/7 54/3 94/25 95/2 118/1</p> <p>trumped [1] 12/7</p> <p>trumped-up [1] 12/7</p> <p>trust [3] 48/22 61/25 119/11</p> <p>trusted [3] 79/25 80/1 80/11</p> <p>truth [11] 14/21 33/18 41/2 41/3 41/18 41/19 49/2 52/5 66/1 71/10 92/5</p> <p>truthful [1] 128/20</p> <p>try [9] 12/6 14/11 28/20 38/19 40/15 49/1 72/15 89/19 91/5</p> <p>trying [9] 13/5 18/1 26/7 27/22 29/11 47/7 58/7 61/15 82/15</p> <p>TUCKER [1] 1/18</p> <p>tuition [1] 87/12</p> <p>turn [6] 20/4 84/2 95/13 97/6 100/24 113/6</p> <p>turn-in [1] 20/4</p> <p>turned [2] 18/23 36/18</p> <p>turning [3] 85/12 96/8 100/1</p> <p>twenty [1] 48/2</p> <p>twenty-nine [1] 48/2</p> <p>Twice [1] 14/23</p> <p>two [53] 2/24 5/23 6/4 6/11 6/23 7/9 7/11 8/7 9/11 9/15 9/19 9/22 9/23 9/24 10/16 10/21 11/18 15/7 15/14 16/16 26/15 27/2 31/14 34/9 35/9 38/21 39/1 40/9 41/12 43/20 44/24 45/2 45/4 46/19 47/19 47/25 48/18 50/22 53/11 54/18 68/22 69/9 76/9 76/17 77/4 80/22 83/1 88/5 94/19 99/4 106/12 122/1 123/24</p> <p>two-level [9] 6/4 6/11 6/23 7/11 8/7 9/11 9/22 9/23 9/24</p> <p>two-thirds [1] 48/18</p>

**T**

upsetting [2] 84/17 84/18  
 upward [2] 61/7 21/24  
 upwards [1] 112/14  
 urged [1] 18/25  
 urgently [1] 115/5  
 urges [1] 93/16  
 USB [2] 111/16 111/21  
 USC [1] 130/14  
 USPO [1] 1/21

**V**

V-Week [2] 20/24 20/25  
 vacuum [1] 99/22  
 valuable [1] 19/12  
 value [3] 30/22 42/11 78/7  
 values [2] 20/18 25/6  
 Vancouver [4] 12/4 12/6 43/11 119/3  
 Vanderbilt [2] 46/2 51/14  
 Vanguard [4] 14/11 26/17 28/7 96/16  
 vantage [1] 73/22  
 variance [1] 125/24  
 variety [1] 55/9  
 various [3] 57/6 57/16 96/13  
 vehicle [2] 78/19 92/19  
 vengeance [1] 109/21  
 venue [1] 33/24  
 versus [3] 1/3 2/3 79/10  
 vex [1] 75/16  
 vexatious [1] 76/13  
 via [1] 96/14  
 victim [25] 8/4 8/21 11/4 11/10 11/16  
 18/10 37/9 39/15 51/6 64/14 66/11 67/1  
 85/6 98/22 100/6 102/10 103/21 104/13  
 105/15 109/9 114/14 115/24 116/4  
 117/15 117/20  
 victim's [2] 39/5 117/22  
 victimless [1] 107/2  
 victims [41] 11/2 11/2 11/3 11/6 13/4  
 14/10 18/25 39/9 39/16 39/19 54/15  
 63/2 63/3 64/16 69/16 74/22 83/6 85/18  
 88/13 88/18 88/23 89/1 89/18 89/20  
 90/2 90/19 91/3 91/6 98/4 110/10 115/5  
 115/13 115/18 116/7 116/10 117/1  
 118/8 118/11 118/14 119/18 122/17  
 victims' [1] 100/7  
 video [7] 11/5 11/21 13/12 20/23 43/16  
 64/16 73/24  
 videos [7] 88/17 88/17 97/18 97/19  
 114/17 115/7 118/13  
 view [6] 3/3 87/15 100/10 121/1 121/7  
 123/18  
 viewed [2] 51/6 125/10  
 Viewing [1] 73/24  
 vigorously [2] 99/9 99/11  
 vindictive [1] 17/23  
 vindictiveness [1] 58/24  
 violated [2] 81/2 81/9  
 violates [1] 82/11  
 violation [2] 29/7 81/8  
 violations [2] 47/13 49/20  
 violence [2] 55/9 58/17  
 VIP [1] 20/17  
 virus [1] 69/3  
 visa [14] 21/25 22/4 22/8 23/15 85/23  
 87/23 101/16 103/1 103/1 103/11 105/1  
 105/10 105/19 106/1  
 visas [2] 87/19 92/19  
 visions [1] 20/18  
 visually [1] 109/7  
 vivid [1] 80/15  
 vocal [2] 89/1 109/5  
 voice [1] 80/2  
 voices [1] 122/17  
 volition [1] 14/22  
 vouch [1] 12/21

**VOW**

96/24  
 vowed [2] 45/6 15/24  
 VPD [1] 12/5  
 vulnerabilities [1] 13/25  
 vulnerability [1] 106/9  
 vulnerable [2] 104/22 117/23

**W**

wage [4] 17/3 57/23 86/1 102/7  
 wait [1] 44/9  
 waited [1] 30/2  
 waiting [1] 45/12  
 Wakaya [2] 20/9 20/16  
 wake [3] 60/1 60/15 61/12  
 wake-up [1] 61/12  
 walk [1] 36/24  
 walked [1] 53/3  
 wants [6] 67/17 72/4 78/17 78/17 83/19  
 131/1  
 warned [2] 43/2 117/18  
 warrant [2] 31/9 93/12  
 warranted [6] 6/1 6/5 6/12 6/24 85/8  
 126/9  
 warrants [3] 91/7 124/14 125/16  
 was a [1] 4/8  
 Washington [2] 1/17 32/3  
 watch [1] 32/20  
 watching [1] 32/12  
 ways [4] 39/18 71/9 92/21 111/4  
 weaknesses [1] 97/14  
 wealth [19] 13/25 18/7 38/11 40/25  
 44/20 51/17 67/21 80/20 81/24 82/3  
 82/4 83/13 108/1 108/5 109/25 110/13  
 111/3 125/6 126/5  
 wealthy [4] 61/24 74/19 108/3 125/14  
 weapon [1] 12/25  
 wearing [1] 2/21  
 web [2] 90/16 90/18  
 wedding [1] 12/15  
 week [6] 16/13 20/24 20/25 45/13 79/1  
 99/1  
 weeks [6] 32/11 35/8 35/10 47/19 50/13  
 50/19  
 weighs [1] 85/10  
 weight [1] 26/15  
 well-being [1] 3/9  
 well-established [1] 95/14  
 well-intentioned [1] 19/5  
 WENIGER [4] 1/20 2/7 112/14 112/25  
 whatsoever [1] 18/16  
 white [1] 46/12  
 Whitney [2] 46/2 51/14  
 whole [2] 62/4 78/10  
 whore [1] 51/6  
 wicked [1] 55/8  
 wide [3] 55/9 57/3 58/23  
 wide-spread [2] 57/3 58/23  
 willful [2] 120/1 122/22  
 William [1] 27/18  
 willing [4] 3/20 12/21 18/21 113/6  
 willingly [1] 41/5  
 willy [1] 71/6  
 willy-nilly [1] 71/6  
 win [1] 29/10  
 wire [3] 71/15 99/3 117/12  
 wish [6] 3/4 11/2 11/6 11/13 63/11  
 63/13  
 wishes [2] 95/10 130/17  
 withdrawn [1] 106/22  
 witness [6] 65/10 70/17 79/2 80/1 80/9  
 98/4  
 witnessed [1] 56/13  
 witnesses [3] 32/13 70/24 78/15  
 woke [1] 30/16  
 woman [17] 13/19 16/6 16/10 19/1 45/1

**W**  
woman... [12] 48/11 56/25 67/12 73/1  
87/6 87/8 105/4 105/11 105/12 105/24  
109/12 109/16  
woman's [4] 16/20 87/11 106/18 107/11  
women [14] 13/4 16/14 17/22 18/11  
19/17 24/9 30/7 57/4 96/19 97/3 97/10  
98/14 109/5 109/7  
women's [2] 46/1 97/13  
wonder [1] 39/15  
wondering [2] 36/4 36/7  
word [7] 41/22 79/6 100/2 116/1 116/1  
116/2 116/3  
words [9] 3/17 26/19 39/14 41/14 46/6  
53/20 116/8 117/16 121/14  
wore [1] 45/21  
worker [1] 86/1  
workers [1] 15/25  
workers' [1] 15/9  
workforce [1] 87/3  
works [1] 73/4  
workshops [1] 96/13  
world [15] 19/13 23/12 24/2 32/24 32/24  
33/15 38/2 38/3 50/21 70/16 70/22  
83/14 94/16 120/8 120/23  
worry [5] 42/19 58/19 60/21 60/22  
114/21  
worst [3] 43/7 49/10 110/11  
worth [3] 45/18 57/17 72/10  
worthwhile [1] 127/5  
worthy [2] 60/18 60/19  
wound [1] 23/7  
wounds [2] 39/19 39/21  
wrenching [1] 30/14  
write [2] 15/21 27/22  
writes [2] 117/16 117/20  
writing [4] 5/10 64/15 75/23 87/6  
written [3] 29/23 41/15 117/6  
wrongdoing [1] 16/11  
wrongful [2] 58/1 94/22  
wrongfully [2] 49/8 81/24  
wrongly [1] 47/10  
wrongs [1] 48/25  
wrote [9] 28/10 36/2 57/16 66/15 88/11  
92/25 108/13 109/12 109/17

**Y**  
year [21] 15/3 15/6 28/9 45/18 46/25  
46/25 47/3 48/1 49/9 50/4 54/23 56/16  
57/24 57/25 60/1 60/15 67/12 73/7  
85/22 85/25 103/7  
year-long [1] 48/1  
yearly [1] 128/11  
years [50] 11/24 15/21 19/15 20/3 20/24  
21/11 31/14 33/12 34/1 34/11 36/7  
38/21 39/1 40/9 40/12 40/23 41/12  
43/13 43/20 43/24 45/2 46/14 46/19  
48/8 48/18 48/23 50/10 50/10 50/22  
51/24 52/6 55/8 55/24 56/4 57/14 58/5  
59/8 61/12 66/23 68/22 71/5 71/24  
75/24 75/25 75/25 84/1 103/7 123/23  
123/23 124/1  
years' [1] 126/20  
yesterday [1] 36/3  
yields [1] 9/22  
YORK [14] 1/1 1/4 1/12 1/13 1/19 1/19  
1/24 42/15 59/12 59/19 90/20 108/21  
115/14 118/15  
young [3] 45/1 98/14 109/16  
younger [1] 105/22  
Your Honor [12] 53/8 54/13 54/20 89/1  
91/25 93/5 93/21 94/2 94/4 94/12 94/15  
95/4  
yourself [7] 30/20 38/1 40/6 40/16 40/23

41/1 95/5  
youth [11] 107/14  
**Z** 17416  
zero [4] 58/16 71/15 84/10 84/10